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ABSTRACT

This report, based on a 1986 survey of 1,000 new citizens, describes barriers to the naturalization process, efforts currently under way in California to overcome them, and possible future actions the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and community groups might undertake to assist in streamlining the process. The following key points are discussed: (1) naturalization confers citizenship; (2) the number of legal immigrants in California is increasing; (3) a high percentage of those eligible for naturalization do not file; (4) Latinos comprise the largest group of eligible immigrants who have not filed; (5) naturalization is voluntary, unpromoted, and easily forgone; (6) mandatory English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) classes cannot accommodate demand; (7) the process is tedious, time-consuming, and burdensome; (8) one-third of all applicants do not complete the process; (9) unnaturalized legal immigrants, particularly Latinos, face exclusion from political participation; and (10) public and private organizations and agencies should begin a cooperative effort to educate potential citizens about naturalization and induce them to apply, expand ESL classes, and guide and encourage applicants through the process. Statistical data are included on seven tables and two graphs. The following material is appended: (1) seven tables of supporting statistical data; (2) a description of two typical INS offices; (3) a discussion of the survey; (4) a 10-item annotated bibliography of research reports on naturalization; and (5) a directory of California citizenship service providers. Included also are 94 footnotes, a 51-item selected bibliography, and 5 "exhibits" including the naturalization application form and instructions and a copy of the survey questionnaire. (FMW)

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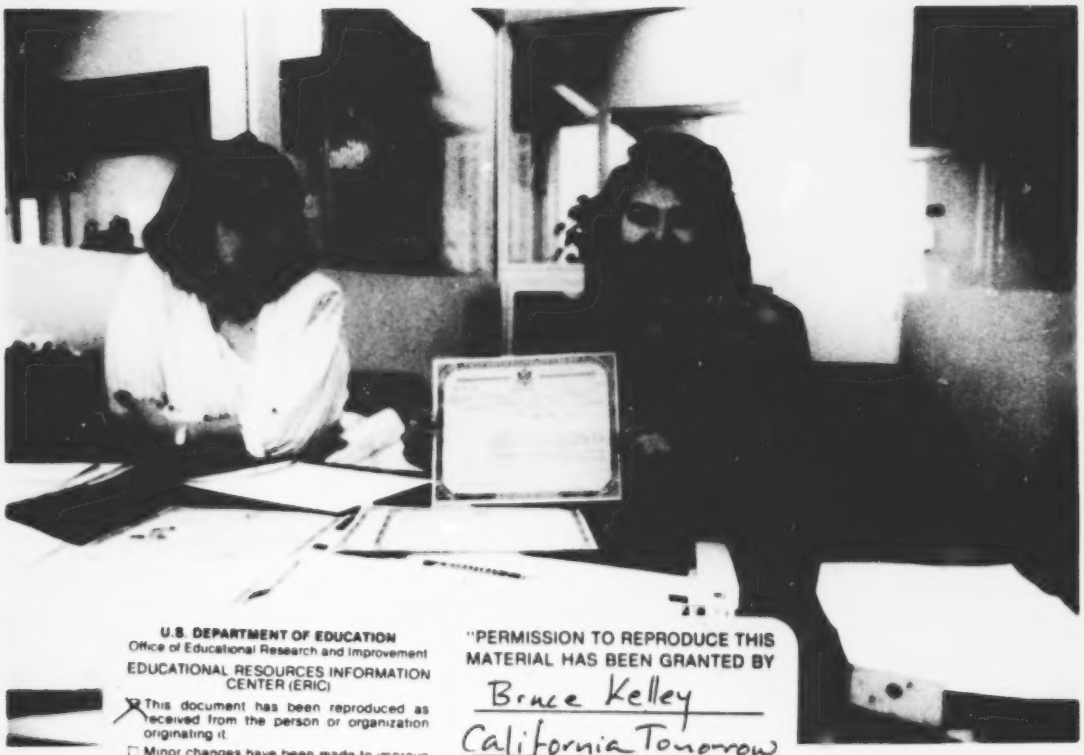
A SMOOTHER PATH TO CITIZENSHIP



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Increasing Naturalizations in California

A California Tomorrow Policy Research Report

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A SMOOTHER PATH TO CITIZENSHIP

Increasing Naturalizations in California

A California Tomorrow Policy Research Report

April, 1988

PREFACE

If there is one word that has dominated the language of public life in this country, it is "citizen." We invoke it constantly to reassure ourselves that our democracy is alive and true to its origins. We hope that our children will learn to be "good citizens," that our corporate chiefs will be "leading citizens," and our Ralph Naders "public citizens."

But, as this report shows, we are not serious in this state about creating citizens in the most literal sense of the word. California receives one-fourth of the nation's legal immigrants. One out of six of our schoolchildren is an immigrant, and over half of those now being legalized under the amnesty law are here, yet we do little to encourage anyone to become a naturalized citizen. We leave this essential first step toward political participation to individual choice at a time when immigrants face increasing obstacles to naturalization, such as overcrowded language and citizenship classes. It is a sad story.

California Tomorrow prepared this report because we are committed to this state's future as a multi-racial, multi-ethnic democracy that works. That cannot be a reality, for immigrants or for society as a whole, while the present passive approach to naturalization feeds an already alarmingly low rate of voting and political participation. Apathy and democracy are always a bad combination. In this state, they can be a dangerous one.

Lew Butler
President, California Tomorrow

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This Citizenship Project began in 1986, and since then, many diverse individuals have contributed their hard work, experience, and insight to bring it to fruition. Without their generous efforts, this report would not exist.

California Tomorrow staff and Fellows assisted in many phases of the project. California Tomorrow Fellow Vera deVera and Research Associate Judy Malunda initiated the concept, assembled extensive research materials, and designed and conducted the California Tomorrow survey of new citizens at the December, 1986 naturalization ceremony in Los Angeles. California Tomorrow Fellows Marcia Chen and Betty Noling also interviewed these individuals, as did Soledad Aragon, who provided other miscellaneous but crucial support. California Tomorrow Fellows Raúl Pardo and Rosalind Gold gathered further information and helped write the report. Throughout, staff members Bruce Kelley and Rhonda Trotter contributed useful advice and were always available to answer vital resource questions. Lew Butler, President of California Tomorrow, established the context for the report and set its tone. And the Board of Directors of California Tomorrow actively supported this effort from the start, and many members, especially Antonia Hernandez and Robin Kramer, offered important suggestions to its drafts.

Outside of California Tomorrow, many individuals generously contributed their ideas, expertise, and contacts. The Project Steering Committee included: Tania Gunter, Juan Jose Gutierrez of One Stop Immigration and Educational Center, Sadae Iwataki and Domingo Rodriguez of the Los Angeles Unified School District, Eduardo Palacios of the Santa Rosa Church Center Immigration Project, and Fernando Tafoya of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor Immigrant Assistance Project. James DeBates, INS Senior Immigra-

tion Examiner, and James Booe, Deputy Assistant Regional Commissioner, Examinations, of the Western Regional INS office, provided valuable background on the workings of INS offices in California. Los Angeles immigration attorney and former INS examiner Carl Shusterman reviewed and helped verify information in the report, particularly regarding the legal ramifications of citizenship.

In addition, Linda Wong, Associate Counsel and Director of the Immigrants Civil Rights Program of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and Dr. Leo Estrada, professor of urban planning at UCLA, gave us essential comments on drafts and steered us to further research. We also appreciate the advice and assistance of Kirke Wilson of the Rosenberg Foundation.

We are especially grateful to the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). NALEO is a nationwide leader in citizenship research, outreach, and direct services, and its staff made significant contributions to the project. Harry Pachon and Verónica Gutiérrez provided information and guidance, and helped shape the spirit of the report. Louis DeSipio patiently answered many research questions and commented generously on drafts, and Manuel Contreras, Jr. helped gather information about the impact of the new immigration law.

Terri Lobdell, a former California Tomorrow Fellow, and Dan McNeill edited and analyzed the contents of the report, and greatly enhanced its readibility.

We deeply appreciate the contribution of everyone, and wish to note that any mistakes are ours alone.

And finally, we are grateful to the new citizens who participated in the California Tomorrow survey. In many ways, the report is dedicated to them.

California Tomorrow

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PART ONE – OVERVIEW

I. KEY POINTS

• **Naturalization confers citizenship**. It is the baptism of political participation for legal immigrants, the investment in an alien of full legal rights and privileges.

• **The naturalization pool is expanding rapidly**. The number of legal immigrants arriving in California every year more than doubled between 1970 and 1986.[1] The state now receives one out of four nationwide – about 170,000 people, or half the population of Oakland[2] – each year, and the new immigration law could swell the pool by an extra one million individuals over the next few years.[3]

• **Naturalizations are not keeping pace**. After five years residence, legal immigrants can apply to become U.S. citizens. In California, by conservative estimate, over 650,000 are now eligible to naturalize,[4] and the figure continues to rise. Yet a high percentage of these individuals have neglected to file. Nationally, 28% of legal immigrants who have lived in the U.S. for over 10 years have not naturalized.[5]

• **Naturalization rates especially lag for the state's largest immigrant group: Latinos**. Nationwide, 56% of foreign-born Latinos residing in the U.S. for more than 10 years have not become citizens, compared to 21% for non-Latinos.[6] In California, 76% of all foreign-born Latino adults[7] – nearly one million people[8] – are not citizens.

• **Naturalization is voluntary, unpromoted, and easily forgone**. The government spends virtually no money encouraging naturalization, and private funds for this effort have proved hard to raise. Few organizations or groups have stepped forward to undertake its promotion. Currently, immigrants newly-eligible for citizenship receive no notice of the fact, and could go years without encouragement or reminder.

• **ESL classes face a tremendous, imminent upsurge in enrollment.** The government has long required new citizens to show some proficiency in English, yet English-As-A-Second-Language (ESL) classes have been chronically full, with long waiting lists. Because of the new immigration law, applications for these courses will increase by at least 354,000 from now through June, 1990,[9] straining the system and posing major challenges for administrators.

• **The naturalization process is tedious, time-consuming, and burdensome**. The path to naturalization is bestrewn with red tape. Most applicants face one or more of these common problems: difficulty in obtaining, understanding, and completing the application (which requires four pages of personal data, a one-page biographical statement, passport photos, fingerprints, and a $50 fee); delays of several months between submitting an application and taking the oral examination; lost records; a long journey to one of the few naturalization offices in the state; hours of uncertainty waiting in the office or in line; and, sometimes, arbitrary and irrelevant exam questions.

• **Naturalization winnows severely**. One in three who apply do not make it, usually because of missing documents, inability to pass the English or citizenship test, or sheer frustration with the process.[10]

• **The prospect is unsettling**. If naturalization rates do not improve, legal immigrants – Latinos in particular – will face marked exclusion from political participation, with profound consequences for California.

• **The problem needs an urgent response**. Individuals and organizations across the board – policymakers, corporations, labor unions, civic and community groups, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), adult schools, and immigrant service providers – should commence a multi-level effort at once to: a) educate potential citizens about naturalization and induce them to apply, b) greatly expand the capacity of ESL classes, and c) guide and encourage applicants through the red tape of the process.

II. INTRODUCTION

Why Naturalization?

The ancient Athenians built the first democracy, and they viewed it as both a boon and an obligation. On the one hand, the state would listen to the popular will and respond to it. On the other, individuals would contemplate the issues, voice their conclusions, and grace the government with their time and energy. "Democracy" meant rule by the people, and the people had to participate actively if they were to rule.

This principle is just as true in the U.S. today. Ideally, we would routinely attend meetings of government bodies, communicate regularly with our elected representatives, and actively seek information on the issues of the day. We would scrutinize public affairs, formulate opinions carefully, and express them clearly and often. And, of course, we would vote.

But the reality in the U.S. is quite otherwise. Most individuals exercise their citizenship seldom and superficially. The phenomenon is especially marked in California. Only 62% of the state's eligible voters were actually registered in 1987,[11] and less than half its adults have gone to the polls in recent off-year elections.[12] A substantial number of voters do not even know the names of the politicians who represent them.

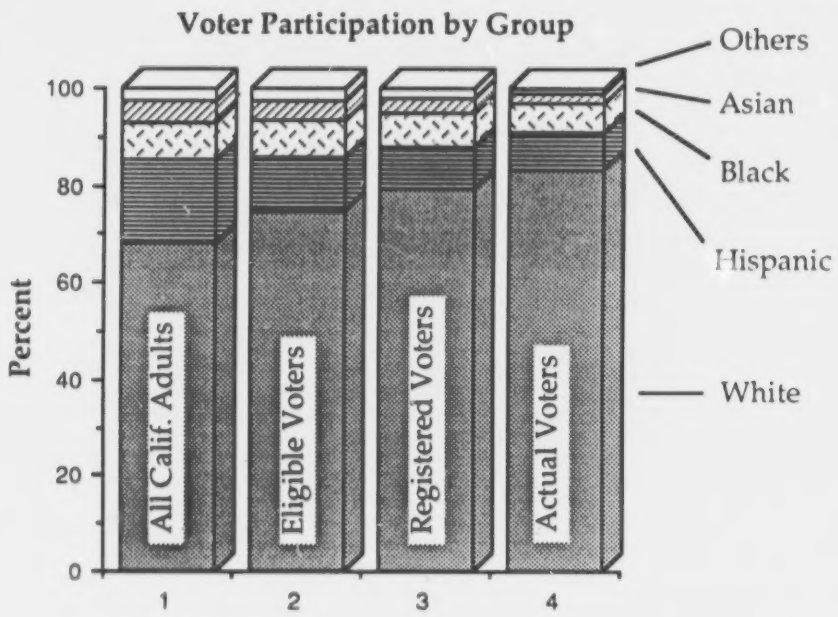
In this country, a vote counts.

— New citizen, asked why he naturalized

The causes of this phenomenon are complex. California is a large, populous state where few citizens have ever met politicians or their aides, and many individuals feel they have little stake in government decisions.

Moreover, observers have long noted a sense of transience about California, a feeling that its residents have recently arrived and not quite sunk roots. Indeed, a majority of Californians were born out of state.[13] They often maintain strong and lasting ties to their place of birth and

relocate often while here.[14] In addition, 95% of California residents live in urban areas. It is the highest figure in the nation,[15] and the size and fragmentation of its cities seem to thwart the vehicles, incentives, and neighborhood focus that promote volunteerism and activism. The lack of in-depth community media coverage in the state also discourages participation.



Finally, active citizenship demands time and energy, and many of our families must channel their resources into survival.[16]

But California faces a special problem. As the most culturally and ethnically diverse state in the nation, it has an exceptionally high percentage of legal noncitizens. They have passed all the immigration requirements, and the U.S. government has formally placed them on track for citizenship. Yet for various reasons, they have not naturalized. Without naturalization, they lack the *sine qua non* for political participation: the vote.

Voter Participation by Group, 1986

	All Calif. Adults	Eligible Voters	Registered Voters	Actual Voters
White	68.3%	75.0%	79.6%	83.5%
Hispanic	17.3%	11.1%	8.4%	7.3%
Black	7.3%	7.4%	7.2%	6.2%
Asian	4.9%	4.3%	2.8%	1.9%
Others	2.2%	2.2%	2.0%	1.1%

Source: Oral communication with Mark DiCamillo, The Field Institute, June 30, 1987.

In 1986, when the state's adult population was 17% Latino and 5% Asian, voters in the November election were only 7% Lati-

no and 2% Asian.[17] Moreover, though Latinos constituted 17% of all adults, they were but 11% of the eligible voters. This remarkable discrepancy stems directly from the low rate of naturalization. According to Harry Pachon of the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), fully 38% of California Hispanics age 20 and over are non-citizens.[18]

In contrast, whites – 68% of California's adults – were 75% of its eligible voters and 84% of its voters. Hence they were substantially overrepresented in the political process.

Moreover, voters are becoming a smaller and smaller segment of the populace every year. It is a central fact of California politics. Increasingly, voters will be older, better educated, and wealthier. (The 31% of adults earning over $40,000 comprised 41% of the state's voters in the 1986 election.[19]) They will hold more professional jobs and include a higher proportion of whites. The overall population, on the other hand, will be younger, less educated, and poorer. They will hold more blue-collar jobs and comprise a greater percentage of people of color.

And since voting is the most fundamental act of political participation – elected officials respond to the voting population, not necessarily the whole – the trend signals a rift in California political life that could be harmful to all. Non-voters could be prime targets for taxation by voters demanding, for instance, costly health care in their declining years.[20]

Greater naturalization would forestall this problem. Only through naturalization can immigrants vote, and one study suggests they do so more regularly than native citizens.[21]

Enhancing naturalization is not a partisan issue, any more than getting out the vote is. High voter turnout benefits society by making elections more representative, and hence the courts have swept away most procedural hurdles to voting, like the poll tax and residency requirement. Yet the potential citizen who has not naturalized cannot vote or participate politically at all. It makes no more sense to post obstacles to naturalization than to voting.

Fostering citizenship is simply good for our democratic system, whether it benefits one party or not. But in fact potential citizens show a spectrum of political views. Hispanics generally favor Democrats, but Cubans, particularly in Florida, tend to a conservative anti-communism.[22] At least one study indicates that Vietnamese tend to register Republican.[23] Moreover, recently two researchers from the California Institute of Technology conducted a telephone survey of the state's minorities and found their interests quite varied, mak-

ing prospects for a single political coalition unlikely.[24]

Greater naturalization would confer an array of benefits. It would provide incentive to learn English and to master the basic catechisms of U.S. government and history. It would be inexpensive and hurt no one. It would help remove noncitizen status as a trigger for petty "Join It or Leave it" prejudice. It would enable talented newcomers to work as police officers and aerospace employees. It would diversify the jury box. Most important, it would make democracy more honest, by fulfilling the ideals of representative government and "one man/one vote." The cry of "No taxation without representation" echoed up and down the Eastern seaboard in the decade before the American Revolution, and its message strikes the same chord today as it did then.

Why Now? The Impact of IRCA

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) gives urgency to the campaign to increase naturalization. IRCA has four major impacts on naturalization, which increase the number of immigrants eligible to become voting citizens and the incentives for them to act.

1) IRCA grants amnesty and potential permanent residence to many long-time undocumented Californians. Predictions vary on the number of undocumented Californians who will apply for and attain amnesty, thus qualifying for permanent legal residence and, in time, naturalization. By mid-April, 1988, the INS estimated that 858,000 Californians had filed, or 55.4% of the total nationwide.[25] The final tally in the state could reach one million.[26] Eighteen months after amnesty, individuals can apply for permanent resident status.[27] Five years after that, they become eligible for citizenship. Amnesty could thus dramatically boost the number of permanent resident aliens, and ultimately of new citizens.

2) IRCA requires some preliminary steps toward naturalization. Amnesty confers status as a "temporary resident." To become permanent residents, immigrants must either: a) pass a test on English, U.S. government, and U.S. history (which may also satisfy the naturalization requirements), or b) prove that they are pursuing courses in these topics.[28] Those who do not apply or qualify for permanent resident status lose their temporary resident status after 31 months, and become subject to deportation.[29] The brevity of amnesty and the threat of deportation create a potent motive for permanent residence. Moreover, those undocumented individuals who achieve it will find the final step to naturalization much easier than other legal immigrants, because they have already passed English and citizenship tests.

3) IRCA provides the strongest economic

spur yet for legal residents to naturalize. It expressly protects "intending" citizens from job discrimination based on citizenship status. Both amnesty-based temporary residents and permanent residents can become "intending" citizens by simply filing a declaration of intent, but they lose this status if they fail to apply for naturalization within six months after they are eligible, or do not actively pursue the application.[30] At the same time, IRCA allows employers to "hire, recruit or refer" a U.S. citizen over a non-citizen if the two persons are equally qualified.[31] The latter provision, though harsh, does offer motive to naturalize.

4) IRCA creates a new source of funds that could be used to promote naturalization and acquisition of English. The law authorizes State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants (SLIAGs) – federal funds that could amount to $1.7 billion in California by 1992 – to pay for health care, education, and other government services for newly-legalized immigrants. Decisions on allocating these funds are currently being made at the state level. The burden on the tiny naturalization and citizenship education budgets will be heavy, and SLIAGs could further many naturalization efforts.

The Trio of Obstacles

There are many barriers in the naturalization process, but most fall into one of three categories: deciding to naturalize, learning English, and negotiating the bureaucratic process.

In this report, we will explain each of them. We will also describe ongoing projects to ameliorate them, and make sets of suggestions in each area as to how government and civic groups can proceed. These suggestions could help enfranchise 1.6 million Californians,[32] diminish alienation from lack of voice in the political system, quell many immigrants' fear of government, boost the number of individuals learning English, mitigate anti-immigrant prejudice fueled by low naturalization rates, and, perhaps most important, foster greater participation in citizenship by all.

PART TWO – BARRIERS TO CITIZENSHIP

III. HURDLE ONE: THE DECISION TO NATURALIZE

Deciding to naturalize is not a simple matter. Potential citizens must first understand the basic contours of the process. They must be aware of their eligibility, the requirements they face, and the overall demands of the procedure.

Once they know the fundamentals, they must also decide whether the benefits of citizenship outweigh the difficulties of obtaining it. Finally, they must be psychologically ready to naturalize. To some extent, at least, they must identify with the U.S.

However, before any of them can file for citizenship, a series of other events must occur.

Before the Choice Arises

An individual can become a U.S. citizen in one of three ways: by birth, derivation, or naturalization. Birth is by far the most common. Every child born in the U.S. is *ipso facto* a citizen, unless born to diplomats. Derivation is far rarer, and usually occurs by birth abroad to U.S. parent(s). It is not automatic, but must be processed through either the INS or the State Department.[33]

Each year the U.S. acquires more than three million new citizens, about 95% by birth, 4.5% by naturalization, and under 0.5% by derivation.[34] In 1985, California gained approximately 544,000 new citizens, about 86.5% by birth, 13.0% by naturalization, and 0.5% by derivation.[35]

If one has neither been born in the U.S. or to U.S. parent(s) overseas, he or she can only become a citizen through naturalization. The INS handles all naturalizations.

The first two steps toward citizenship are legal admission to the U.S. and five years

residence.

Individuals from other countries begin by obtaining legal status as permanent resident aliens, exemplified by possession of the INS "green card."[36] It is at this stage that they pass through the hoop of immigration quotas set by Congress and the U.S. government approves of them as potential citizens.

Second, they must live in the U.S. as permanent resident aliens for at least five years. (There are a few exceptions to this stricture. For instance, the spouse of a U.S. citizen need reside here only three years.[37])

A national myth has developed on naturalization . . . . It is assumed that immigrants, once admitted through America's golden door, automatically become citizens.

— Harry Pachon

Permanent resident aliens never need to make the naturalization decision. They can delay it for their entire lives and still remain in the U.S. Thus, every new citizen must at some point consciously choose to naturalize.

Awareness of Naturalization

The process cannot begin unless an individual realizes that he or she is eligible to naturalize. Even so, one may fail to naturalize in the absence of informative materials or knowledge of where to get them. Many immigrants are in fact unaware of these things.

The INS basically does nothing to promote citizenship in the U.S., despite statutory authority to do so. According to E. B. Duarte, Director of Outreach, INS:

> The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) does not have a policy that identifies lawful permanent residents eligible for citizenship or that encourages them to apply for naturalization.
>
> The INS goes out and enforces the law. We pick up people who shouldn't be here. The agency also informs certain aliens when they are eligible for lawful permanent residence. We notify refugees one year after their admission, for example, to come in and apply for permanent residence.
>
> Why, then, don't we do the same thing for naturalization applicants? The reason is that naturalization is viewed as a voluntary act.[38]

Once a person becomes aware of naturalization, he or she can make a decision about it. A complex set of factors shapes

the choice. They are legal, economic, and psychological.

Legal Ramifications of Citizenship

Citizenship is a status defined by law, and its possession confers specific rights and duties. Permanent resident aliens are already subject to most of the duties – paying taxes, obeying the law, registering with the Selective Service, and serving in the armed forces if called – but they are not entitled to all the rights. These rights are mainly familial, political, and economic.[39]

1. Family reunification. U.S. citizens have two great advantages over permanent resident aliens when seeking immigration visas for family members:

a) They can apply for a wider range of relatives. The difference is significant. A permanent resident can apply for his or her spouse and any unmarried children – and no one else. A U.S. citizen can apply for these as well as married children, brothers, sisters, and parents.

b) They can bring relatives into the country much more quickly. Depending on country of origin, a permanent resident can spend up to a decade getting a spouse or unmarried children admitted legally to the U.S. For example, a permanent resident must wait about 10 years to get a spouse out of Mexico, and about 7 out of the Philippines. During this time the spouse normally cannot remain legally in the U.S.

However, a citizen need wait only about six months to admit a spouse from any country, and he or she can usually stay in the U.S. in the interim.

In addition, when permanent residents become U.S. citizens, their permanent resident children under the age of 18 may automatically become U.S. citizens by filing the proper papers.

2. Political participation. Only U.S. citizens can vote, hold federal elective office, and serve on juries. In addition, many state and local offices in California are barred to non-citizens, including state senator, state assemblyperson, and, in Los Angeles, county supervisor and district attorney.[40]

California has a strong history of electing naturalized citizens to political office. For instance, Mervyn Dymally (Trinidad), S. I. Hayakawa (Canada), Ernest Konnyu (Hungary), and Leo McCarthy (New Zealand) have all enjoyed high public positions.[41]

3. Employment opportunities. Citizens are legally more employable than non-citizens. In general, federal jobs require U.S. citizenship, though there are notable exceptions, such as mail carriers. In

contrast, most jobs in California state and local government do not require citizenship, although some do. For example, all state "peace officers" – including the Highway Patrol as well as toll-takers on state-owned bridges – must be U.S. citizens.[42]

In addition, only citizens can hold most positions in the defense industry, and other posts requiring a security clearance. Since 22% of all jobs in California involve either government or defense employers, permanent residents are excluded from a large number of stable, well-paid employment opportunities.[43]

Moreover, with IRCA, private employers may now prefer U.S. citizens over equally qualified permanent residents under certain circumstances.

4. Other benefits. U.S. citizens can travel more freely in and out of the country on a U.S. passport, and can also own airplanes and control television stations.[44] In addition, many foundations that grant fellowships and scholarships for higher education require that recipients be U.S. citizens.

Naturalization does convey one significant legal drawback. The U.S. oath of allegiance requires new citizens to renounce all loyalty to other sovereign nations. Simultaneously, the home country may also retract the citizenship of new U.S. citizens.

Along with lost citizenship may go valuable rights and privileges. In Mexico, for instance, non-citizens cannot own real property within 100 kilometers of the border and 50 kilometers of the coast.[45] Thus, upon naturalizing in the U.S., a former Mexican citizen may lose the rights to any such property held in Mexico.

The Psychology of Naturalization

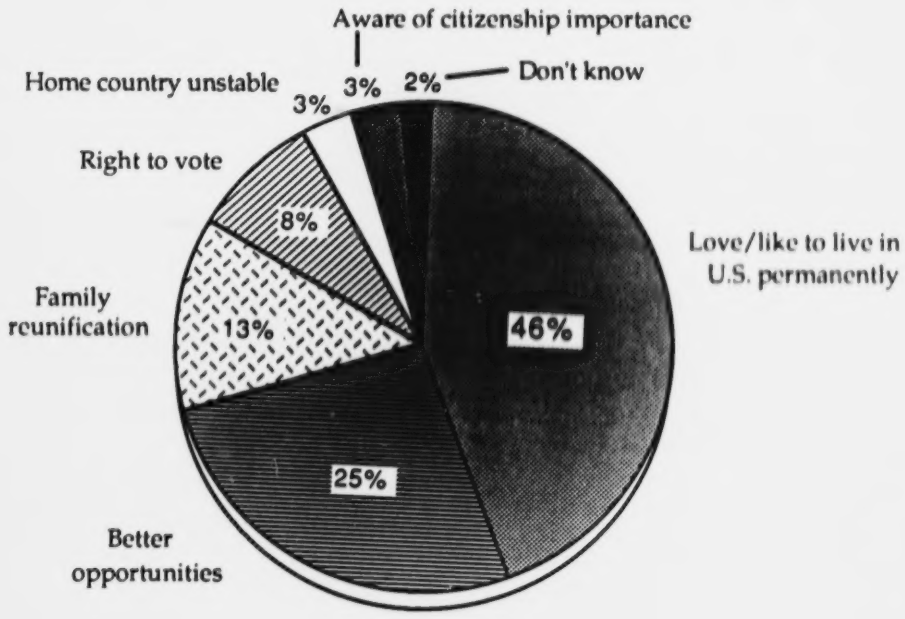
Despite its importance to society, the decision to apply or not to apply for U.S. citizenship is relatively unstudied. It can be a subtle, intricate, and personal matter, and the full range of considerations which enter into it remains somewhat unclear.

The immigrants themselves report the following:

1) Those seeking citizenship say they applied because they fully identified as Americans and/or because of specific legal benefits, such as reuniting family, voting, or obtaining a better job.[46]

2) Those who haven't sought citizenship say they lack a pressing need. Moreover, they often cite strong discouraging factors, such as a desire to return or remain loyal to their homeland, fear of failing the INS English and citizenship exams, the experience of prejudice, and a sense

Self-Reported Reasons for Naturalizing



of alienation in the U.S.[47]

California Tomorrow's own informal survey of 1,000 immigrants waiting in line to be sworn in as U.S. citizens bears out these conclusions (Appendix C). California Tomorrow selected its respondents at random from the 21,000 new citizens at a December, 1986 ceremony in Los Angeles, and asked a series of open-ended questions about their reasons for pursuing citizenship and for delaying it, if they had.

Nearly half stated that their primary motive for citizenship was love of the U.S. or a commitment to living here permanently. Almost the entire other half mentioned three practical concerns: better economic or educational opportunities, family reunification, and the right to vote (see chart). Likewise, half of the respondents who had delayed seeking naturalization at least two years said they merely lacked the time or interest. They had no impetus.[48]

However, self-reporting has its limitations, and investigative studies show a wider range of factors is involved. Though they interact in complicated ways and scholars are not sure of their relative importance, they include:

• **Affiliation**. A feeling of "belonging" is vital in determining who will become a citizen. People who feel like "outsiders," who are afraid to lose their "heritage," will be less likely to naturalize. Those who see themselves as Americans will be more likely.[49]

• **Proximity and ties to home country**. Proximity to home country deters naturalization, presumably because individuals travel home more often, maintain

closer cultural and family ties, and retain more options regarding citizenship.[50]

• **Political situation in the home country**. Immigrants from centrally-planned economies and political refugees are much more prone to naturalize. In effect, they have no home country to return to.[51]

• **Age**. Experts agree that the young are more apt to naturalize than the old, and the younger a person is at the time of immigration, the more likely he or she will naturalize.[52]

• **Length of residence**. The longer a person resides in the U.S., the more probable naturalization becomes. Proximity affects this factor. For instance, Latinos are far less likely than their non-Latino counterparts to be citizens after 10 years.[53]

• **Socio-economic status**. Many authorities believe that individuals with higher income, greater education, and more stable and prestigious job naturalize at higher rates, probably because they have less difficulty mastering English and surmounting the other structural barriers of the process.[54]

• **Home ownership**. At least one study found that immigrants who own their homes naturalize at a greater rate, probably because home ownership confers a greater sense of "rootedness," of belonging to the community.[55]

• **Legal consequences of naturalization**. Family reunification, the right to vote, enhanced job opportunities, and the other benefits of citizenship clearly play a part in the decision, as does the prospect of losing rights in the home country.

There are also two procedural hurdles that daunt immigrants:

• **The English language requirement**. Learning English and U.S. government and history pose substantial problems for many immigrants, particularly those with little education.[56]

• **The INS bureaucracy**. Many immigrants see the naturalization process as tedious and rife with red tape, and INS personnel as cold and unwelcoming. In addition, since the agency also carries out enforcement, many immigrants have a suspicion of it going back many generations. They fear it and avoid it wherever possible.[57]

The Asian/Latino Comparison

Naturalization is increasingly an Asian phenomenon. In 1970, 22% of the individuals who naturalized in California were Asians. By 1985, after waves of immigration from Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, and China, 61% were

Immigrant Professionals Admitted by Region of Origin, 1970

Region	Number of Professionals	Percent of Region's Total	Percent of Region's Economically Active Immigrants
Asia	24,936	26.9	62.9
Canada	1,476	10.7	34.4
Western Europe	7,251	7.8	18.4
South and Central America	2,089	6.7	45.2
Cuba	966	5.9	12.1
Mexico	435	1.0	3.6

Source: Alejandro Portes and Rafael Mozo, "Naturalization, Registration, and Voting Patterns of Cubans and Other Ethnic Minorities: A Preliminary Analysis," *NALEO Proceedings*, Washington, D.C., 1985, p. 50 (as compiled from INS Annual Report, 1970, Tables 7A and 8).

Asians.[58] Some Asians, such as Filipinos, are not naturalizing quite as fast as others, but overall the rate has been very high.

Moreover, Asians are naturalizing earlier than Latinos. Our own survey found that relatively high percentages of the naturalizing Vietnamese (74%), Chinese (64%), Filipinos (57%), and Koreans (47%) had applied within two years of eligibility, compared to less than 15% of the Mexicans, Cubans, and Canadians.

What accounts for this discrepancy? Research on the naturalization rate of Canadians, which resembles that of Mexicans, suggests a likely explanation: that individuals of both countries neglect naturalization because the U.S. is geographically adjacent to their homeland and they retain strong bonds with it.[59]

In fact, though proximity is clearly important, the present data cannot support any one-dimensional interpretation of the deep, historical relation between

Mexican immigrants and the U.S. Many factors are at work, as the comparison with Asian immigrants will show.

Citizenship Status by Length of Residence

Residents Here Between 11 and 20 Years

	Total	Citizens	Non-citizens
Latinos	1,159,300	434,400(37%)	724,900(63%)
Non-Latinos	1,976,500	1,127,200(57%)	849,300(43%)

Residents Here 11 Years or More

	Total	Citizens	Non-citizens
Latinos	1,788,500	789,000(44%)	999,500(56%)
Non-Latinos	6,733,900	5,344,100(79%)	1,389,800(21%)

Source: Unpublished Census data produced June, 1983, as compiled by Harry P. Pachon in "An Overview of Citizenship and the Hispanic Community, *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, p. 301.

Asian Immigrants. The research is particularly bereft of analysis of Asian naturalization by country of origin -- Vietnam, the Philippines, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, China, Cambodia, and others. But we do know that legal Asian immigrants often arrive with professional skills and savings[60]; that many are escaping unacceptable and even dangerous political situations; that they face prohibitive expense in returning home, or lack a home to return to; that they are likely to arrive fully intending to make a new life in the U.S.; and that they often seek to bring family members to the U.S. All of these factors, as the research shows, correspond with the desire and the ability to naturalize.

Latino Immigrants. The slow rate of Latino naturalization also stems from a complex of causes. Mexican immigrants often feel they are "outsiders" in the U.S.[61] As Mexico is adjacent to the U.S., they are more likely to return home regularly, to have close family there, and to desire property rights there. They also tend to have low education and income levels, and to work in unskilled occupations, factors which reduce the acquisition of English, attempts to naturalize, and ability to complete the process.[62]

As the research stands, all inter-group comparisons of naturalization motives must acknowledge the essential lack of

hard evidence. The numbers neither garland nor indict any group, but rather are a tool for understanding the naturalization rate in California, and increasing it.

IV. HURDLE TWO: LEARNING ENGLISH

Once a permanent resident has lived here for five years and decides to apply for citizenship, he or she must satisfy four legal requirements:

- Age of 18 or older.

- Good character, which in practice generally means the absence of a criminal record.

- Ability to speak, read, write, and understand basic English at about a third grade level. There is one major exception: Applicants over 50 who have been permanent residents for more than 20 years are exempt from the test.

- Basic understanding of U.S. government and history.[63]

The latter two are by far the most difficult. English in particular is critical, as many immigrants speak it poorly. In California in 1980, 24% of Asians and 30% of Latinos knew English not well or not at all.[64]

Thus, once an individual has decided to apply for citizenship, he or she often next sets about to learn English, U.S. government, and U.S. history, and confronts the second major bottleneck in the process.

ESL Classes

A few community-based organizations provide ESL classes or referrals to classes, usually free of charge. But most enrollees go through classes run by a variety of governmental entities, again for little or no fee. For instance, many local school district adult programs and community colleges offer ESL.

Annual enrollment for adult ESL classes in California public schools for 1985-86 was 408,105, and the California Department of Education estimates that by March, 1988, it had risen to about 500,000.[65]

An immigrant with limited English typically needs about one semester to become proficient enough to take the INS oral examination and feel confident of passing. ESL classes typically meet twice a

week at night.

Yet, even before IRCA, there were not enough ESL classes to go around. In 1986-87, about 40,000 people were on the waiting list for ESL courses offered by the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD).[66] Demand was simply too great, despite the fact that the LAUSD offered some 1,200 ESL classes and served about 165,000 students in 1985-86.[67]

In 1987-88, the LAUSD is expected to enroll 210,000.[68] (By February, 1988, the waiting list had dropped to 18,000, as a result of additional state funding received by LAUSD.[69]) Los Angeles is not the only area with this shortage. During 1986-87, San Jose turned away 2,000 applicants from its ESL courses.

A few cities with large immigrant populations, like Los Angeles and Miami, now air English and citizenship instructional programs on local television stations, thereby eliminating the need for some immigrants to take a formal class.

But it is not enough.

In the next few years, Californians legalized under IRCA will apply by the hundreds of thousands for permanent residence to avoid possible deportation. To attain permanent residence, they must pass an English exam or show proof they are pursuing a course of instruction.

Hence, the number of newly-legalized immigrants seeking ESL and citizenship courses in the next few years will rise sharply.

The California Department of Education estimates that, as a result of IRCA, 353,808 additional adults will require ESL classes. Because of the brevity of temporary residence, they will enroll in progressively larger numbers over the next three years. In 1987-88, 53,071 of them will apply. In 1988-89, 123,833 will, and in 1989-90, the peak year, 176,904.[70]

The LAUSD estimates that a total of 119,700 more adults will need its ESL courses as a result of IRCA.[71]

Officials are taking action to cope with the tide. According to the California Superintendent of Schools, the Governor's Office has agreed to provide school districts with SLIAG funds sufficient to cover the expense of teaching ESL to as many students as apply, at least through 1988-89. The Assistant Superintendent of the LAUSD, Gabriel Cortina, says, "This is exceptionally good news .... We have been training teachers and recruiting teachers for this moment."[72]

Citizenship Classes

Government and private agencies also offer citizenship classes, at little or no charge. Demand for these courses has so far been much lower. In 1985-86, enrollment for adult citizenship classes in California public schools was about 8,700.[73] Citizenship classes generally last only one semester, meeting twice a week. Again, most students start this class prior to submitting the application.

The citizenship curriculum normally addresses general naturalization requirements and procedures; the U.S. Constitution; features and functions of federal, state, and local government; highlights of U.S. and California history; and the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of citizenship.

Officials believe that IRCA will bring about an abrupt hike in the number of individuals seeking civics classes.

The California Department of Education estimates that *all* 544,320 adults seeking educational services as a result of IRCA will require instruction in citizenship. Some 35% – or 190,512 – will take it alone, and 65% will need it along with ESL.[74]

The LAUSD makes similar projections. It states that 171,000 people will enroll in its ESL and citizenship courses, of whom 30% – or 51,300 – will study citizenship by itself. 68% will require ESL plus citizenship, and 2% will need primary language instruction in Spanish.[75]

Though some individuals will enroll in combined ESL-civics classes, nevertheless, citizenship courses also face a dramatically increased burden in the next few years.

V. HURDLE THREE: THE BUREAUCRATIC PROCESS

Filing the Application

1. Obtaining forms and information. The first formal step in the bureaucratic process is obtaining the application forms and related informational materials. (For a copy of the application and instructions, see Exhibit A.) These are available at all INS district offices and some suboffices, and at many private, nonprofit community organizations providing citizenship services.

If the applicant obtains them in person at an INS office, he or she will have to wait in line. Depending on the day, it could be a long wait. (For a first-person description of the Los Angeles and San Francisco INS offices, see Appendix B.)

One can also phone the INS office and listen to a long and complicated computerized recording (in English or Spanish) which provides detailed information on naturalization requirements and procedures. The caller hears a general message first, explaining how to access the system. Then, following its advice, the potential applicant must punch in the correct code to hear the appropriate information on naturalization. The message also provides a phone number to order the proper numbered forms by mail.

This approach circumvents the trip to the INS office and the wait in line, if the applicant can properly handle the computerized message, and if the computerized system works correctly. (Our researchers found it did not always do so.)

2. Filling out forms. Next, the applicant must fill out the four-page application and supply a one-page biographical statement. The categories of information sought include: residential and employment history, family make-up, and "moral character." Various community-

(INS) documents are needlessly cold and potentially alarming to some.

— David North

based organizations (and, less often, lawyers) may assist in filling out these forms.

The applicant must also provide the INS with three passport-type photographs and fingerprints on a special fingerprint form. Fingerprints can be taken at some local police stations, and certain community organizations offering citizenship services. Applicants also commonly use private fingerprint studios, which charge between five and fifteen dollars.

Once the forms are complete, the applicant mails or delivers them personally to the INS. Carl Shusterman, a Los Angeles immigration lawyer and former INS examiner, recommends sending them certified mail-return receipt requested, to prove the fact and date of submission. If the application is lost or delayed, the applicant still has a record of it, and can trace its status or whereabouts.

3. Processing and delays. In California, the INS typically processes naturalization applications as follows:

First, it scans the application for completeness. If it finds an obvious omission or clearly discerns that the applicant does not meet the residency requirement, it returns the application by mail. Such returns are relatively uncommon.

Next, it links the application with the individual's original immigration file. This step can go smoothly or not so smoothly, depending on where the applicant entered the U.S. If he or she entered through the office now handling

the naturalization, it should find the immigration file with no problems. If the applicant entered through a relatively small office, like Phoenix, there should still be little difficulty. However, if the applicant originally entered through New York, the INS may encounter problems and delay in finding the file.

In Los Angeles, the INS does not schedule an oral examination date until it has located the original immigration file. And if there is delay in finding the file, it does not normally notify the applicant, who generally has no idea why the process is taking so long.

Meanwhile, soon after receiving the application, the INS sends the applicant's fingerprints to the FBI to check for a criminal record. If 40 days pass without an FBI response, the INS office presumes the applicant has no criminal background.

The Oral Examination

Once the application is scanned, linked with the original file, and checked by the FBI, the INS sends the applicant notice of date, time, and place for the oral examination. (For a copy of such a notice, see Exhibit B.)

1. Journey to the examination site. For this event, applicants must normally travel to an INS district office or suboffice – in many cases, a trip of several hours. The INS maintains three district offices in California: Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego. The Los Angeles district covers Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, Ventura, and San Luis Obispo Counties, and leads the nation in volume of naturalization applications, averaging over 61,000 annually. It has no suboffices that conduct oral exams.

According to James DeBates, former Los Angeles deputy assistant district director

of examinations and inspections, the Los Angeles office alone conducts about 340 oral examinations daily.

INS Backlogs and Waiting Times

Office	1985	1986	1987
San Francisco			
backlog	15,620	28,060	25,742
waiting time	3 mos.	7.5 mos.	7 mos.
Los Angeles			
backlog	64,478	58,262	44,078
waiting time	13.5 mos.	12.5 mos.	8 mos.
San Diego			
backlog	5,361	2,545	3,408
waiting time	8 mos.	3 mos.	3.5 mos.

Source: Compiled by NALEO Education Fund as gathered from INS Statistical Office, Naturalizations Summary Report, Form G-22.3.

The San Francisco district covers 49 counties and has three suboffices that conduct oral examinations, in San Jose, Sacramento, and Fresno. It processes about 40,000 naturalization applications annually. The San Diego district includes Imperial and San Diego Counties, and averages about 10,000 applications. It has no suboffices for exams.

For areas without a nearby district office or suboffice, the INS may set up temporary oral exam stations on a regular basis. For instance, INS examiners show up once or twice a year in courthouses in Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties. If an applicant can get a slot, he or she saves a lengthy drive to Los Angeles. INS staff in Fresno also leave town to conduct oral examinations in the field, and new citizens in the San Joaquin Valley may be sworn in in local district courts.

2. INS Backlogs. The period of time from first submission to the final ceremony varies from office to office in California, and in general has decreased dramatically in recent years, primarily because of computerization and increased staff. For instance, in the fall of 1983, Los Angeles had a backlog of 90,000 citizenship cases. By May, 1984, this number had fallen significantly, but was still over 59,000. By May, 1987, it was 44,078.

The table above shows the recent history of backlogs and waiting times at the three California offices, as of around March 30 of each year. "Backlog" is the current number of cases pending, and "waiting time" is the average period

from initial submission of the application to swearing in.

3. The examination. The oral examination serves several purposes:

1. To confirm under oath and update, if necessary, information on the application;

2. To test the applicant's ability to converse in and write basic English (when required); and

3. To test the applicant's knowledge of basic U.S. government and history.

Oral examination procedures vary depending on the office and the individual examiner. In Los Angeles, the following typically occurs:

The applicant gets in line with his or her appointment letter. Once he or she reaches the window, an official checks the letter and tells the applicant to have a seat in the waiting room until his or her name is called. The applicant may sit there anywhere from a few minutes to a few hours.

A clerk appears regularly in the waiting room to call out names. Once the applicant is called, he or she is directed to an examination room and put under oath. Then the examiner – in Los Angeles, usually a woman – asks questions to verify and update all the information on the forms. These queries also test the applicant's English.

Many applicants are very nervous at this moment, particularly if the examiner speaks rapidly or uses slang. If the applicant seems too nervous, the examiner may encourage him or her to go outside, perhaps take a walk, and relax for a few minutes.

After reviewing the application data, the examiner asks the applicant to write a simple sentence in English. Examiners are typically not very strict about spelling, and will accept phonetic renderings.

Then the examiner hands the applicant a typed list of basic questions about U.S. government and history. The examiner asks the applicant to read and answer the questions, either orally or in writing.

The test normally lasts between 15 to 30 minutes. There are no standard procedures for examiners, so abuses can and do occur. For example, examiners have reportedly asked such obscure questions as "How many Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock?" and "Who was the sixth president of the United States?" But in general this kind of abuse is rare.

In 1987, the Los Angeles office began handing each applicant a printed list of questions to answer. The lists are relatively standardized, and have essentially eliminated arcane interrogation.

If the applicant passes the exam, he or she will be asked to sit in the waiting room while the formal petition for naturalization is typed, then pay the required $50 fee. (A copy of the formal petition, to be filed with the court, appears as Exhibit C.)

4. Dispositions. According to James DeBates, faulty English is the main reason applicants fail the exam. If the applicant does not pass, he or she has the option to withdraw the application and re-apply later. This act is called a "non-file."

If the applicant refuses to withdraw the application for this reason or others – including inability to supply necessary information, failure to meet the residency or good character requirements, and refusal to pay child support – it is "denied." According to INS Outreach Director E.B. Duarte, denials are usually based on lack of five years residence or serious criminal record. Cases are seldom denied for failure to pass the English or government/history tests.

Nationwide Dispositions, Oct., 1984-Mar., 1985

Disposition	Number
Approval	172,667 (71.9%)
Non-File	31,665 (13.2%)
Return	29,060 (12.1%)
Denial	6,801 (2.8%)
TOTAL	240,193 (100%)

Source: North, 1985, p. 67.

California Dispositions, Oct., 1986-Sept., 1987

Disposition	Number
Approval	80,000 (72.6%)
Non-File	18,100 (16.4%)
Return	9,900 (9.0%)
Denial	2,200 (2.0%)
TOTAL	110,200 (100%)

Source: James C. Booe, INS Deputy Assistant Regional Commissioner, letter dated September 16, 1987

However, the great majority of applicants do pass their first oral examination, and go on from there to receive notice of the final naturalization ceremony.

The Naturalization Ceremony

Finally, the applicant receives notice through the mail of the time and place of the naturalization ceremony. (For a copy of the notice currently used in Los Angeles, see Exhibit D.) As of August, 1987, according to James DeBates and Carl Shusterman, the naturalization cer-

INS Dispositions by Key Cities, Oct., 1984 - Mar., 1985

Office	Total Dispositions	Approvals	Denials	Non-Files and Returns
Boston	6,248	71.3%	0.3%	28.4%
Chicago	14,114	58.4%	5.4%	36.1%
Los Angeles	29,097	79.9%	0.3%	19.8%
Miami	10,917	74.0%	8.2%	17.8%
Newark	14,585	74.6%	0%	25.4%
New York	40,871	83.5%	4.2%	12.1%
San Antonio	5,077	46.4%	0.7%	52.8%
San Diego	4,118	86.7%	0.6%	12.6%
San Francisco	29,471	66.5%	1.4%	32.1%

Source: North, 1985, Exhibit 13 at p. 69; calculated from the INS management information system, Form G-22.3 (Rev. 10-1-84).

emony in California usually took place one to four months after the oral examination, and about three weeks after receipt of the notice.

The ceremony was beautiful. It was like graduating from school.

— Naturalized citizen

At the ceremony, new citizens take an oath of allegiance, receive certificates of naturalization, and surrender green cards and other alien documents to the INS. Many ceremonies take place in federal courthouses on a regular schedule whose frequency – quarterly, monthly, weekly – depends on need. Others occur on a mass basis in larger arenas or auditoriums.

Los Angeles and Orange Counties typically hold mass swearing-in ceremonies. According to DeBates and Shusterman, conducting them is usually a logistical nightmare. Just finding a site large enough in Los Angeles can be a major challenge. In 1987, Dodger Stadium was considered, but the courts vetoed that locale as inappropriate to the formality of the occasion. In May, 1988, ceremonies for Los Angeles will take place at the Los Angeles Convention Center and about

12,000 new citizens are expected to show up.

The Significance of Red Tape

The naturalization process is tedious and filled with obstacles and anxieties for many immigrants. In the words of former INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo: "[It is] so arduous . . . it actually repels rather than attracts potential citizens."[76]

As Leticia Quezada, manager of Hispanic marketing at Carnation Company in Los Angeles found during Carnation's project to promote citizenship:

> When I started this effort in 1981, I thought the task at hand would be to convince Latinos, especially Mexicanos, that they should apply for U.S. citizenship. What I have found instead is that Latinos are very much interested in U.S. citizenship, but other barriers get in the way of their actually applying. Such barriers include the initial hesitation to visit an INS office for information, doubts about whether they qualify for citizenship, a self-consciousness about their English-speaking abilities, lack of information on citizenship classes that are available in their local community, fear of filling out what looks like a very complicated citizenship application, and a sense of discouragement because they know of the backlog in processing citizenship applications.[77]

Some people argue that Americans seeking lesser rights, such as driver's licenses and passports, must also tolerate bureaucratic hardship, and that if potential citizens cannot endure red tape, they simply do not want citizenship enough. But this argument falters on a string of counts.

Bureaucratic problems have much more serious impact on immigrants than the rest of the population, because their skills in English are less developed, and they may harbor residual fear of the INS. Red tape can make naturalization not just irritating, but onerous. Moreover, while red tape does not stop people from getting driver's licenses, it does deter citizenship. The low rate of applications for citizenship hurts the whole society. It fosters a social divison which no one wants, and therefore it will not do to write off the problem by saying that the immigrants should want citizenship more. We do not demonstrate our love for a nation by standing in line and enduring its red tape, but by working hard, contributing to it, and seeking its betterment.

PART THREE – DISPELLING THE OBSTACLES

VI. WHAT IS BEING DONE: EFFORTS TO PROMOTE CITIZENSHIP

With the INS distrusted by many immigrants, and the process so wearying, some non-profit service providers in California have offered their assistance. (See Appendix E for a statewide listing of them.[78]) Often without charge, these agencies devote staff time and resources to helping immigrants decide whether to apply and how to fill out forms, unravel procedural snarls, determine their current status, and learn English, U.S. government, and U.S. history.

Of course, it is far from enough. Such service providers can reach only a smattering of all those who need their attention. In addition, like the INS, they can develop backlogs, causing applicants to endure secondary waiting times. Moreover, though they have received monies from private foundations, the State Bar of California Legal Services Trust Fund, and other sources, they still lack the funds and staff to handle all who need them.

Private businesses and other organizations have also joined in publicizing and facilitating citizenship. Again, their contributions have helped, but they remain too few to compensate per se.

The present efforts to promote citizenship, while small, have often proved successful, and may provide models for future work. Below is a sampling of the approaches.

Inside California

1. NALEO. NALEO is the nation's most knowledgeable organization on increasing naturalization. It opened an office in East Los Angeles on April 27, 1987, and from there has launched an ambitious statewide campaign to promote citizenship among California's adult Latino population, some 38% of whom are not citizens. Project activities include:

• A statewide toll-free informational hotline (1-800-34-NALEO). This line commenced in April, 1987, and to date has received over 1,500 calls from across the state.

• Workshops. NALEO holds workshops for community groups and citizenship teachers.

• Public service announcements (PSAs). The organization recently distributed five PSAs to radio stations across California. Airings to date have generated hundreds of calls.

• Local area pilot campaigns. NALEO recently began grassroots efforts in four California communities: Huntington Park, South El Monte, Boyle Heights, and Lincoln Heights. As pilot campaigns, these efforts were intended to test and develop model strategies for use by community-based organizations. NALEO enlisted local elected officials, community leaders, and civic groups in the projects, each of which was different.

The Huntington Park pilot campaign involved canvassing door-to-door to promote citizenship and voter registration. This method was feasible because there were plenty of volunteers. Nonetheless, NALEO expressed reservations about its success, because: 1) The volunteers lacked experience canvassing, and 2) Results did not correspond with the time invested in the project.

Fingerprint service at NALEO

In the South El Monte pilot campaign, community and church leaders disseminated citizenship information and promoted the hotline. NALEO also used the local print media to advertise Citizenship Day and run stories on the topic. NALEO was satisfied with this approach because it required little staff, but wants to launch a broader media effort to increase attendance at Citizenship Day.

The campaign in Boyle and Lincoln Heights will utilize three direct mailings. The first letter will come from the seven elected officials in the area, and ask constituents to encourage family and friends to naturalize.

The other two will target recipients by age. One, from senior Congressman Edward Roybal, will ask voters over 30 to promote the campaign's goals. The other, from younger City Council members Richard Alatorre and Gloria Molina, will

ask voters under 30 to encourage family and friends to participate in naturalization efforts. NALEO hopes that identification with one's elected representatives will yield positive results.

Photo for application at NALEO

The initial response to NALEO's programs has been very good. The hotline is busy, the workshops are well-attended, and interest in the grassroots campaign is high. In addition, over 500 potential applicants have visited NALEO's East Los Angeles office since it opened. (For further details, call NALEO at its hotline number or 213-262-8503.)

2. Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). In response to the shortage of ESL classes in Los Angeles, the LAUSD is currently airing an 80-segment ESL instruction program on its educational channel 58 daily at 6:30 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. The show has an estimated audience of 115,000 families. The LAUSD is also developing a televised citizenship class. (For further details about LAUSD's program, see *NALEO's Naturalization Quarterly*, Summer, 1987, p. 9, or call Sadae Iwataki, supervisor of adult ESL programs, LAUSD, 213-625-6649.)

3. La Raza Centro Legal in San Francisco. This nonprofit organization is in its third year of a naturalization project which has explored the most effective techniques for providing form assistance and counseling to potential applicants. In one approach, the "self-help clinic," La Raza staff outline the benefits and requirements of citizenship to an average of 20 potential applicants, answer questions about the process, and explain how to fill out the forms. These clinics take place every 15 days. Individual appointments are set up later to finalize the paperwork.

In addition, La Raza has run PSA's in both English and Spanish language media. Third, it promotes naturalization in the field, using both citizen outreach personnel and former clients to reach individuals as yet uninformed of La Raza services.

This project is budgeted at about $82,000 annually, and has cost about $246,000 over the past three years. Funding has come from the San Francisco and Levi Strauss Foundations. No one questions the program's success, and indeed a recent study of participant-applicants from January to December, 1985 showed that 75 to 80% became citizens.

Yet the foundation money has run its course. The project must now rely on service fees of $125 per client. As a result, the staff is down to one full-time individual, and the outreach effort has been curtailed. (For further details, contact La Raza's San Francisco office at 415-826-5506.)

4. The Carnation Company. In 1982, the Los Angeles Urban Relations Department of the Carnation Company developed a citizenship brochure, called "Open the Door to Opportunity: Become a U.S. Citizen." It explained in simple terms (in both English and Spanish) the benefits of naturalization and the basic application procedure. The brochure was aimed at the Latino population nationwide and has been distributed through community organizations. By late 1984, Carnation had mailed out over 200,000 copies free of charge.

Carnation also undertook a nationwide PSA, targeting Spanish-language stations. A pilot program in Southern California resulted in over 200 persons phoning in to request the brochure. Carnation employees questioned the callers and developed the following profile:

- 65% were 21 to 40 years of age.
- 57% were women.
- 72% were married, and 57% had one to three children.
- 49% had a reasonable knowledge of English and U.S. history.
- 85% were not planning to return to their country of origin.
- 48% wanted citizenship in order to progress.
- 31% wished to enjoy full citizenship rights.

Based on this information, Carnation developed three different radio spots, each in a different accent: Mexican, South American, and Caribbean. One featured a person with a secure and lucrative job requiring U.S. citizenship. The second discussed the difference Latino voters can make in electing officials sensitive to the needs of their community. The third enumerated the advantages of citizenship to the individual and his or her family. The response to these spots has been very good. (For further details on this program, see Quezada, "Reaching Out to the Latino Community on U.S. Citizenship."[79])

5. Other private nonprofit agencies. A wide variety of community organizations in California offer citizenship information, referrals, and other services directly to applicants. These agencies usually provide one or more of the following: help in filling out forms, counseling on the citizenship process, legal assistance, and English and citizenship

classes. Most charge nothing, though some ask either a standard fee or fees on a sliding scale.

The following partial list of these organizations conveys an idea of their diversity in nature and clientele as of 1985: Catholic Charities, Los Angeles, serving about 120 per year; Catholic Community Services, San Diego, about 500 per year; San Juan Macias Immigrant Orientation Center, Lakeview Terrace, about 360 per year; Council of Filipino-American Organizations, National City, about 180 per year; Impact, Inc., San Diego, about 200 per year; Calexico Neighborhood House, Calexico, about 300 per year; Lutheran Social Services, San Francisco, about 200 per year; La Raza Centro Legal, Inc., San Francisco, about 600 per year; and Catholic Social Service Immigration and Counseling Center, San Jose, about 480 per year.[80]

Outside California

1. San Antonio: MALDEF. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) conducted a highly successful education and outreach project in San Antonio, Texas, beginning in March, 1984. It included:

• Use of the Spanish-language electronic media to heighten awareness of citizenship issues. MALDEF developed a series of PSAs for radio and television, featuring prominent local leaders. Each highlighted a specific topic: the 50/20 English literacy waiver, enhanced job opportunities for U.S. citizens, local citizenship classes, and form assistance services. In addition, MALDEF secured considerable interviewing time on public affairs programs. One radio station devoted 25 minutes of talk each week to naturalization issues.

• An ad campaign in both English- and Spanish-language newspapers generated tremendous response. In addition to a detailed explanation of naturalization requirements, the ads featured a coupon which immigrants could clip out and mail in to receive more information about local citizenship services.

Funding for MALDEF's citizenship campaign came from private sources, including Anheuser-Busch. (For further information about this project, contact Linda Wong at MALDEF's Los Angeles office, 213-629-2512.)

2. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). According to Rosa Mejias, Educational Director of the ILGWU in New York, the union wants its members politically active and informed, so it provides educational programs and information to encourage citizenship.[81] One such program is citizenship classes sponsored by each individual local union.

The union workers targeted for this project are generally urban and non-English speaking, with little formal education. Many are heads of households.

Many also hesitate to become a permanent part of the American community. Some believe they will eventually return to their home country. Others are monolingual and thus isolated from the mainstream. Still others think their vote will not affect election outcomes, and hence that citizenship is not worth the effort.

The various locals approach these populations differently:

• Local 91-105 provides one-on-one instruction. It offers no classes, but individual form assistance and aid preparing for the oral exam. Most applicants in this local are women over 35 with grown children who have been in the U.S. an average of 12 to 15 years.

• Local 155 has held citizenship classes since 1973. The participants are mostly Hispanics from Central and South America who have resided in the U.S. an average of 19 years. They generally said they had not applied for citizenship because: 1) they did not know where to go or what procedure to follow, 2) they were afraid of failing the test, and 3) they did not know English well enough.

• Local 23-25, the largest, has offered citizenship programs for over 15 years. The participants are older and lived in the U.S. an average of 15 years. They delayed because they were monolingual and had difficulty with the English language requirement. Free of charge, the local offers assistance in filling out forms, as well as classes in U.S. government, history, and political process, which include practice oral exams.

The Local 23-25 educational director will accompany the applicant to the INS office and help with any problems arising there. Once the applicant receives citizenship, Local 23-25 will register that person to vote.

3. New York: The Federation of Italian Societies of Queens. This organization sponsors biannual "one-stop" citizenship drives, providing form assistance as well as off-duty police officers to take fingerprints and a photographer to snap the required photos at a reasonable price. About eight volunteers, trained one week before the session, assist more than 300 persons. The Federation publicizes each drive with a two-week ad campaign.

4. Miami: The Metro-Dade County Office of Latin Affairs and WLTV. The County office and the local UNIVISION affiliate in Miami co-produce a 13-part television series which prepares viewers for naturalization. Each 30-minute segment provides bilingual instruction in basic English, U.S. government and history, and

completing the application. Viewers can obtain a study packet with written materials as a supplement. The series, now in its fifth year, serves an estimated 50,000 viewers.[82]

5. Miscellaneous. Among the other citizenship promotion efforts:

• Concerned Citizens of Queens in New York City sponsors periodic "citizenship days" at local churches, relying on priests to announce the events and explain their purpose at the end of each Mass. Church bulletin notices and bilingual flyers passed out after the Mass detail naturalization requirements and other vital information.

• The San Antonio Literacy Council broadcast a 30-minute weekly naturalization program on San Antonio's top Spanish radio station. Program guests included INS examiners, immigration attorneys, citizenship teachers, elected officials, and newly naturalized citizens.

The Canadian Example

The foregoing organizations all work to lighten the impact of U.S. naturalization procedures. However, Canada employs quite different methods of naturalization altogether, and in some respects offers a guide to the U.S.

For instance, Canada actively markets naturalization, spending about twice as much per new citizen as the U.S. It publishes a variety of appealing, simply-worded materials on citizenship, and arranges for judges and citizenship officers to give speeches to immigrant groups. In the Toronto area, conveniently-located storefront offices dispense naturalization information and accept applications.[83]

In addition, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Canadian Citizenship Act, which separated Canadian citizenship from British, the Department of the Secretary of State launched an annual Citizenship Week in 1987. (In 1988, this event was scheduled for April 17-23.) It is intended to encourage active civic participation among all Canadians and to promote awareness of the meaning of Canadian citizenship.

Many aspects of the Canadian naturalization process are less burdensome and threatening. It requires residency of three years – or any three of the four prior to application. It charges about $32 (i.e., $40 Canadian) rather than $50. Its exam questions treat only topics covered by an official textbook and, while the applicant must show knowledge of English or French, he or she can use an interpreter for the citizenship test.

Finally, Canada severs naturalization from enforcement organizationally. Its naturalization bureau is the Citizenship

Registration and Promotion Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. A separate government ministry, the Department of Employment and Immigration, handles all immigration matters.

These differences may contribute to the impressive Canadian naturalization rate. Canada estimates that 75% of its eligible foreign born had become citizens by its 1981 census, compared to 63% for the U.S. in 1980.[84]

Moreover, immigrants comprised 16% of the population of Canada in 1981, as compared to 6% of the U.S. and 15% of California in 1980.[85]

VII. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE: SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Government institutions, corporations, and civic groups can help boost naturalization rates on three major fronts: by marketing citizenship, creating more ESL and citizenship classes, and streamlining the application process.

Marketing Citizenship

Many permanent residents are either unaware of their eligibility for citizenship or suspicious of the process. Hence, it makes sense both to inform them of their rights and status, and to encourage them to file.

Numerous acts of political participation attract promotion in the United States. For instance, Election Day encourages get-out-the-vote publicity, and special events like the Statue Of Liberty commemoration can bring in significant private donations. Since citizenship is the prerequisite for political participation, it merits equal or greater promotion.

Following the lead of The Carnation Company in Los Angeles and the Levi-Strauss Foundation in San Francisco, local corporations should develop and fund effective naturalization outreach and publicity campaigns. These campaigns serve a tremendous community need, demonstrate the company's good will to the public, and, if accurately targeted, cost relatively little. In particular, industries which would benefit from a larger employment pool, such as the aerospace industry or other defense contractors, should develop these programs.

The state government should use a portion of SLIAG or other funds to publicize naturalization. Using the methods of previous state promotional campaigns – billboards declaring California an attractive business locale, TV spots showing crime-stopping tips – a naturalization campaign would create statewide visibility, spur applications, and engender further local promotions.

Publicity about naturalization should heed these precepts:

- **Whenever possible, promotion should be aimed at distinct groups and designed by people who know them well.**

• The largest target group will continue to be Latinos, and the individual in Latino families most receptive to naturalization is often the permanent resident female.[86]

• This group consists primarily of immigrants with low incomes and, on average, an eighth-grade education.[87] Given their proximity and ties to their home country, as well as ethnic discrimination in the U.S., they more often require an urgent reason to naturalize.

• Campaigns should consider highlighting the benefits of naturalization to the children of immigrants, since it opens greater opportunities for college financial aid and employment. They should stress the fact that the only way children can gain citizenship prior to their 18th birthdays is through their parents' naturalization.

• Perhaps the best argument for naturalization now is IRCA, which grants amnesty to undocumented immigrants and creates a mechanism by which they can ultimately become citizens.

Augmenting ESL

IRCA has created a sudden and dramatic surge in demand for the already underfunded ESL classes. State and local officials are moving to meet this challenge and, as this report goes to press, events are happening rapidly. Nonetheless, the following courses of action are clearly called for.

State and local governments must quickly expand the supply and variety of ESL and citizenship courses.

Sufficient federal SLIAG funds must be earmarked to cover all ESL and citizenship courses. The Governor's Office has already approved SLIAG monies for ESL, but officials must monitor the demand carefully to make sure funding keeps pace with it.

Following the example of LAUSD in Los Angeles and UNIVISION in Miami, educators should work with television stations to broadcast more ESL classes. Such programs can reach a vast audience, and ease the burden on ESL classrooms.

Educators should provide other inexpensive instruction, such as correspondence courses and videos with workbooks for sale or rent at libraries, churches, and community centers.

Streamlining the Process

Finally, we must transform naturalization from a bureaucratic steeplechase into a smooth process that welcomes applicants, assists them throughout, and

Waiting line at Los Angeles INS headquarters

creates positive expectations about the outcome.

Foundations, corporations, and state and local government should provide funding to increase the number and effectiveness of non-profit immigrant service providers. With hundreds of thousands of newly-legalized immigrants soon to face confusing INS requirements for permanent residence, these agencies have an exceptional need for public and private monies. Funding institutions should solicit as well as consider requests to increase such services.

California policymakers and service providers, among others, should continue to lobby forcefully for improvements in INS management of the naturalization process, and the funding for such improvements. Research does not prove conclusively that the impersonality and chaos of INS operations contribute to low citizenship rates.[88] However, one need only spend an hour in a naturalization office to see plain evidence that the process is onerous. The naturalization "service" aspect of the INS is simply underfunded. Less than 10% of the INS budget goes to citizenship processing and other benefits, compared to 60% for border and interior enforcement.[89]

Specifically, the INS, soliciting aid whenever possible from local service providers and others, should:

- **Make its offices more welcoming and comfortable, with posters, informative exhibits, and otherwise brightened decor.**

- **Train its staff more thoroughly in multi-cultural sensitivity.**[90]

- **Redesign and clarify all naturalization forms and brochures.**

- **Make better use of computers to reduce waiting lines, processing delays, and periods between naturalization stages.**

- **Supply faster and fuller information to**

people inquiring about the status of their application.

• Use only oral exam questions from a pool of 100 review questions set forth in the federal textbook series on citizenship.[91]

• Help unsuccessful applicants reapply, particularly by offering immediate ESL placement to those who fail because of limited English.

• Restrict the involvement of the federal courts to reviewing INS actions on naturalization applications, thereby ending the inefficient role of the courts in swearing in all new citizens.[92]

VIII. RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

Naturalization is a matter of major public policy, with significant impact on huge numbers of people. Yet there is a remarkable paucity of research on it. Though some investigators have carried out fine studies, many aspects of it merit deeper scrutiny. It is a largely unexplored area, with rich promise for social scientists.[93]

Investigators approaching the field could focus on such topics as:

1) **The factors affecting the naturalization rates**. We still do not know enough about why people opt to naturalize. Certain characteristics correlate with high rates, but we have yet to learn whether they increase the desire to naturalize, the tendency to act upon it, or the ability to complete the process successfully. The role of some factors, such as socio-economic status, remains unclear and awaits a dispositive study.[94]

2) **Variation in naturalization rates by country of origin, especially Asian**. Few studies exist comparing Asian countries to each other, and inter-nation comparisons within South, Central, and North America are also generally lacking. While some studies have pointed toward factors affecting differences in naturalization by country of origin, there is still no definitive work on the subject.

3) **The subjective concerns of immigrants weighing the naturalization decision**. The perspective of immigrants on the benefits and drawbacks of naturalization is a fruitful field of inquiry, particularly with regard to the roles of patriotism, pragmatics, perceptions of the INS, and dispiriting facets of the naturalization process.

4) **The role of further concrete incentives to naturalize**. A study exploring the effect on potential citizens of adding more pragmatic incentives to naturalize would be a significant contribution to the field.

5) **Effectiveness of citizenship promotion efforts and service efforts**. NALEO is currently conducting three types of citizenship promotion programs in different California communities, intending to evaluate the effectiveness of each and develop model strategies for community

organizations. Other surveys of the effectiveness of citizenship service providers and promoters, particularly those able to draw firm conclusions, would attract wide notice.

6) **The effects of IRCA on naturalization**. IRCA is generating an unparalleled movement toward naturalization, and it offers superb opportunities for scholars. For instance, they could follow the progress of immigrants through amnesty to permanent residence and citizenship, determining what proportion of the original population reaches each stage and why. They could also probe the consequences of IRCA provisions requiring English/citizenship exams or allowing employers to prefer citizens in hiring.

7) **The behavior of immigrants after naturalization**. There is almost a void in the research on new citizens' voting behavior, political participation, and political interests. Any decent study in this area would command immediate attention.

PART FOUR – CONCLUSION

There has never been a better time than now to promote naturalization in this country. IRCA has already induced many individuals to commence the process, and their involvement may well have a coat-tail effect. Non-citizens today are more likely to know friends, relatives, or acquaintances who are naturalizing, and hence to understand more about it.

The blanket promise of sufficient funds for ESL could make these classes generally accessible for the first time in years. And applicants are more likely to have company and moral support as they cope with the bureaucratic process, and thus persist longer.

Of course, many difficulties remain, but the benefits per cost of an immediate push to citizenship are clear. And with more citizens enfranchised, California could develop a broader and more representative base of voters, and make substantial progress toward the democratic ideal.

Naturalized citizen casting his ballot

APPENDIX A

MISCELLANEOUS TABLES

Naturalizations in California and the U.S., 1961-1986

Year	California	U.S.
1961	20,884	132,450
1965	18,742	104,299
1970	20,054	110,399
1975	26,834	141,537
1980	39,424	157,938
1985	70,519	244,717
1986	105,284	280,623

Naturalizations in California, by Recent Time Periods

	Time Period	Number
	1961-1970	203,287
	1971-1980	279,770
	1981-1986	318,439
TOTAL	1961-1986	801,496

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: *1970 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1970, Table 42, p. 115; *1980 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1980, Table 27, p. 63; *1986 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1987, Table 48, p. 83.

California Naturalizations by Region of Origin for Selected Years

Region	1970	1982	1985
Europe*	6,292 (31%)	4,278 (13%)	8,117 (12%)
Asia**	4,448 (22%)	21,487 (64%)	43,219 (61%)
Latin America***	3,299 (16%)	6,728 (20%)	16,483 (23%)
GLOBE	20,054(100%)	33,658(100%)	70,519(100%)

* For 1970, includes only Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Poland, Greece, Ireland, Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Hungary, France, and Portugal.

** For 1970, includes only the Philippines, China, Japan, Korea, and Israel.

*** For 1970, includes only Cuba and Mexico. For 1982 and 1985, includes Mexico and all Caribbean, Central American, and South American countries.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: *1970 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1970, Table 42A, p. 116; *1982 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1982, Table NAT 4.2, pp. 127-129; *1985 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1986, Table NAT 4.2, pp. 158-162.

Naturalization Rates of Immigrants Here Five Years or More by Region of Origin, as of 1980

Region of Origin	California	United States
Europe w/o USSR	75%	–
Europe	74%	79%
Asia	65%	66%
Canada	63%	68%
South America	42%	43%
Cuba	38%	48%
Mexico	28%	35%
ALL FOREIGN BORN	53%	66%

Source: California figures from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 195, p. 6-9. U.S. figures from Harry P. Pachon, "An Overview of Citizenship in the Hispanic Community," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, p. 301.

Immigrants Admitted by Selected States of Intended Residence, 1961-1986

Year	United States	California	New York	Texas
1961	271,344	64,205	60,429	14,952
1965	296,697	67,671	69,011	14,674
1970	373,326	74,268	97,821	18,264
1975	386,194	83,184	86,492	23,972
1979	460,348	118,880	94,401	30,520
1984	543,903	140,289	107,056	42,180
1985	570,009	155,403	104,734	43,915
1986	601,708	168,790	110,216	42,316

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: *1970 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1970, Table 12, p. 57; *1982 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1982, Table IMM 5.2, p. 65; *1986 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1987, Table 17, p. 35.

Foreign-Born Persons in California in 1980, by Year of Immigration

Region of Origin	1960-64	1965-69	1970-74	1975-80
Mexico	121,702	174,162	336,364	437,268
Central America and Caribbean	28,542	41,460	52,184	75,454
South America	19,006	20,775	17,896	25,701
LATIN AMERICA	169,250	236,397	406,444	538,423
China	11,549	19,858	21,080	32,009
Japan	10,101	8,516	10,720	23,722
Korea	3,059	6,022	26,263	45,575
The Philippines	12,857	37,635	65,452	87,141
Vietnam	316	939	3,789	78,053
Other Asian	19,045	32,699	54,063	147,305
ASIA	56,927	105,669	181,367	413,805
Canada	27,055	15,603	6,751	14,005
Europe w/o USSR	80,662	67,951	42,047	62,142
USSR	2,253	1,457	2,295	17,246
Africa	2,771	4,882	7,309	14,118
All Other Nations	2,303	3,898	4,786	11,010
Nation not Declared	17,056	21,604	30,043	53,044
TOTAL	358,277	457,461	681,042	1,123,793

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 195, p. 6-9.

U.S. Citizenship Acquisition Among Immigrants by Year Acquired

Region of Origin	1975	1980	1986
Mexico	5,781	9,341	27,807
Central America and Caribbean	25,465	29,621	42,305
South America	6,722	10,065	16,925
LATIN AMERICA	37,968	49,027	87,037
China*	9,683	12,524	11,151
Japan	1,575	1,747	1,011
Korea	6,007	14,703	18,037
The Philippines	15,330	17,683	31,002
Taiwan*	--	--	4,501
Vietnam	1,369	1,828	30,840
Other Asian	10,978	18,905	38,153
ASIA	44,942	67,390	134,695
Canada	3,548	2,823	3,787
Europe w/o USSR	49,718	33,980	35,228
USSR	550	1,211	9,370
Africa	2,757	2,587	6,334
Other Nations	615	650	1,070
Nation not Declared	1,439	270	3,102
TOTAL	141,537	157,938	280,623

* Until 1982, the U.S. government combined the figures for mainland China and Taiwan.

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: *1980 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1980, Table 22, pp. 51-54; *1986 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1987, Table 46, pp. 80-81.

APPENDIX B

THE LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO INS OFFICES

Recently a California Tomorrow researcher spent some time in both the Los Angeles and San Francisco INS district offices. He described the Los Angeles office as follows:

> I arrived in the lobby of the Federal Building and was greeted by a directory of offices on a message board. There I found "Department of Justice – Immigration and Naturalization Service . . . see message board on the north wall of the building."
>
> I walked to the other side of the structure, where a similar message board informed me that the general application and information division of the INS was located in Room 1001. To get there, I left the building, walked to the far end of the north side, turned the corner, and entered the glass doors.
>
> Within, two single-file lines stretched out before the information desk. A sign in English at the rear of the queues read "INFORMATION, OBTAIN TICKET HERE," and explained the purpose of each. The right-hand line was for information and tickets, the left-hand one for appointments only. A brown sign with white lettering on the wall to the left read: "PLEASE, NO SMOKING, NO EATING," and "FAVOR DE NO FUMAR, FAVOR DE NO COMER."
>
> When people finally reached the head of the line, they faced a brusque male information officer with a nasal voice who shouted questions and directions at them. First, he said, "Do you speak English?" If the individual did not, he spoke more slowly, but much more harshly and directly.
>
> With the help of others in line, non-English speakers could generally negotiate the initial step and obtain a red ticket. The red ticket allowed them to pick up informational materials and see INS staff.
>
> A phone carousel with six phones stood to the right of the information desk. A sign above each phone read, "GENERAL INFORMATION." These directions – written in English – asked users to lift the receiver and punch in particular numbers to link up with the information desired. Although five of the six phones were operable, no one was

using them.

Most conversations in the lobby took place in Spanish or Chinese, since mainly Latinos and Asians were awaiting service. On pillars throughout the lobby were slash-circles forbidding smoking, eating, and drinking.

The outer "walls" were actually large windows, while the inner walls were painted drab white. A light blue wall at the rear of the lobby displayed the INS logo and the words "Immigration and Naturalization Service" in raised brass.

The rest of the lobby was divided into three parts: one red, one white, and one blue. In each, the walls, chairs, and signs were of a single color.

In line at the Los Angeles INS office

The red area contained the cashier section, and a large sign above its entrance read, "EXACT FEE REQUIRED, NO CHANGE GIVEN." The adjustment of status section was also here, and it was the most congested part of the lobby.

At one point, a Latino man walked up to the counter and the INS employee asked in a loud, nasal voice, "Do you speak English?" Then he called out to people in the lobby, "Does anyone speak Spanish and English?" A second man offered assistance, and at once became the interpreter for the first client. The INS employee issued directions in a peremptory tone and told the volunteer to help the monolingual Spanish speaker fill out his forms.

The white area was for replacement of alien cards. The mood here was a bit different. The receptionist was a woman who spoke in a subdued voice, and did much smiling and head-nodding when dealing with clients.

The blue area was for information and filing of applications, and also handled white tickets and appointments. When I was there, it was the quietest of the three.

At 4:15 p.m. a loud voice broke over the intercom system stating, "The cashier is closed. If anyone has to pay for their application, they must come back Monday morning. You must have a ticket." A dejected Latino man shaking his head from side to side complained that he had been

waiting since 7 a.m. and could not understand why they couldn't see him. Grudgingly, he moved toward the exit.

Not all INS offices are identical. The district office in San Francisco was somewhat brighter:

To reach this office, I rode an elevator to the second floor. When the door opened, I saw the general information and applications area on my right. A box stood in the middle of the lobby. Applicants could drop completed forms into it, and later receive notice of their status by mail. A message board – in English – informed people where to stand in line to receive: 1) Information: 2) Blank applications and forms, or a phone number to call; and 3) The green ticket needed for filing the application form.

On one wall partition, a poster with red lettering and a ghost image of the INS logo atop a white background read, "WE SERVE WITH COURTESY AND PRIDE." An electronic message board to the left of the information line said, "HAVE A NICE DAY FROM THE SAN FRANCISCO INS OFFICE."

I saw only one information clerk at the head of the line, but he was friendly. He smiled often and directed people to the proper areas for their specific problems.

Most individuals waiting in the lobby were Asian or Latino, though I saw a number of people from other ethnic groups.

The office seemed very businesslike. It gave out most information over the counter in the various departments. Every so often, an INS officer calling out the name of a person mispronounced it. It looked as if most people in the waiting area had been there many hours.

Nonetheless, the atmosphere seemed more hospitable than in the Los Angeles INS office.

APPENDIX C

CALIFORNIA TOMORROW'S SURVEY

A. Method

California Tomorrow conducted a random survey of new citizens during a three-day naturalization ceremony at the Los Angeles Convention Center in December, 1986. Its staff members interviewed approximately 1,000 of the 21,000 new citizens sworn in. They asked a series of open-ended questions (Exhibit E) designed primarily to elicit responses about why respondents had naturalized and, if they delayed before applying, why they had delayed.

Below are the key findings.

B. Profile of New Citizens

Over 50% of the respondents immigrated from either Mexico (18%), the Philippines (17%), or Vietnam (16%). The rest came mainly from Europe (12%), the Middle East (8%), Korea (5%), Central America (5%), and South America (4%). Asian countries, including the Middle East, accounted for over 56% of the total respondents.

About 55% of the respondents were male and 45% female. These figures varied considerably according to country of origin.

As the table below indicates, Asians and Europeans led the way in rapid naturalizations. On the other hand, 84% of Canadians, 70% of Cubans, and 68% of Mexicans arrived before 1974.

New Citizens Who Arrived After 1974, by Place of Origin

Vietnam	100%
Philippines	89%
Korea	88%
Europe	73%
Mexico	32%
Cuba	30%
Canada	16%
TOTAL	75%

C. Reasons for Postponing Citizenship

The survey showed that Mexicans, Canadians, and Cubans had the lowest percentage of "early" applicants, less than 15% each. (An "early" applicant was one who applied within seven years of becoming a permanent resident alien. An applicant who waited longer was "delayed.")

In contrast, Asian Pacific Rim countries averaged about 60% early applicants. Vietnam had 74%, China 64%, the Philippines 57%, and Korea 47%.

Overall, 52% of the new citizens were delayed. Fully half of them said they had deferred citizenship because they lacked the time or interest, and another 6% cited personal negligence in the filing process. The complete breakdown of reasons for postponing naturalization appears below.

Reasons for Delaying

No time, not interested	50%
INS bureaucracy	11%
Personal negligence	6%
Insufficient English	6%
Strong ties to home country	4%
Too young	3%
Don't know	19%

Reasons for Naturalizing

Love/like to live in the U.S. permanently	46%
Better economic and educational opportunities	25%
Family reunification	13%
Right to vote	8%
Home country too unstable	3%
Aware of citizenship importance	3%
Don't know	2%

Again, the results varied by country of origin. Less than 2% of the respondents from Mexico or Central America mentioned "INS bureaucracy," but many more cited it from China (37%), Korea (23%), Vietnam (21%), Europe (21%), and Cuba (20%).

D. Reasons Given for Naturalizing

Responding to the open-ended questions, the immigrants offered several reasons for becoming a U.S. citizen. As the table above shows, almost half of them stated that their main reason was a desire to live in the U.S. permanently.

Family reunification particularly mattered to individuals from Africa (24%), Central America (23%), the Philippines (22%), South America (19%), and Mexico

(17%). Over 25% of those from Central America cited instability of the home country as their reason for becoming a U.S. citizen, in contrast to the aggregate average of 3%. The right to vote mattered most to those from Cuba (18%), Canada (17%), and Mexico (15%). Europeans led the way in intention to live permanently in the U.S. (62%). The complete raw data for this area appears in the table at the end of this appendix.

E. Analysis

Respondents most often said they were naturalizing because of a desire to live permanently in the U.S. At least in part, this factor may reflect a sense of affiliation with the U.S., a feeling that one psychologically belongs in this country and is here to stay. Studies show affiliation is a key ingredient in the naturalization decision, and our survey seems to bear it out.

Another quarter of the respondents said they were naturalizing for the same reason most came to the U.S. in the first place: they viewed the U.S. as the land of opportunity.

An overwhelming percentage of those who postponed citizenship cited either lack of time, lack of interest, or "don't know" as reasons for their delay. This finding may suggest that, for most, inertia held sway in the absence of strong incentives to action.

The survey has certain limitations common to many studies of this kind. It addressed only those who have completed the naturalization process, and thus did not assess the feelings of those who have not applied, or have applied and failed. It relied on subjective responses elicited in an emotional setting. It did not take into account the complex of factors and feelings that enter into most naturalization decisions, but rather allotted one reason to each respondent. Finally, each interviewer was a total stranger approaching respondents in a public place, spending only about five minutes with each.

Nonetheless, the survey does give an overview of principal motives for naturalizing on the part of a very large sample of new citizens. It also breaks Asians down by original nationality, and provides data on large samples of groups like Vietnamese and Filipinos as well.

Reasons Given by New U.S. Citizens for Naturalizing

Region of Origin		Live Perm. in U.S.	Better Economic Opport.	Family Reunifi-cation	Vote	Home Country Unstable	Aware of Citiz-Import.	Don't Know
Mexico	– 178	72(40%)	41(23%)	30(17%)	26(15%)	0	6 (3%)	3 (2%)
Philippines	– 166	64(38%)	44(27%)	37(22%)	11 (7%)	1 (1%)	4 (2%)	5 (3%)
Vietnam	– 162	82(51%)	54(33%)	3 (2%)	12 (7%)	6 (4%)	3 (2%)	2 (1%)
Europe	– 116	72(62%)	18(16%)	7 (6%)	11 (9%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)
Other Asian	– 82	44(54%)	15(18%)	7 (9%)	4 (5%)	5 (6%)	4 (5%)	3 (4%)
Korea	– 49	25(51%)	15(31%)	5(10%)	2 (4%)	0	2 (4%)	0
Central Amer.	– 47	10(21%)	11(23%)	11(23%)	2 (4%)	12(26%)	0	1 (2%)
China	– 45	21(47%)	13(29%)	3 (7%)	5(11%)	0	2 (4%)	1 (2%)
South Amer.	– 37	17(46%)	9(24%)	7(19%)	4(11%)	0	0	0
Africa	– 17	8(47%)	4(24%)	4(24%)	0	0	1 (6%)	0
Cuba	– 17	8(47%)	3(18%)	0	3(18%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)	1 (6%)
India	– 16	9(56%)	5(31%)	2(13%)	0	0	0	0
Cambodia	– 10	5(50%)	3(30%)	0	0	1(10%)	1(10%)	0
Caribbean	– 9	3(33%)	2(22%)	2(22%)	1(11%)	0	1(11%)	0
Laos	– 8	5(62%)	3(37%)	0	0	0	0	0
Canada	– 6	2(33%)	2(33%)	1(17%)	1(17%)	0	0	0
Thailand	– 6	2(33%)	0	3(50%)	0	0	0	1(17%)
Pakistan	– 5	3(60%)	0	0	0	2(40%)	0	0
Japan	– 3	0	1(33%)	2(67%)	0	0	0	0
Other Nations	5	2(40%)	3(60%)	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	– 984	454(46%)	246(25%)	124(13%)	82 (8%)	31 (3%)	27 (3%)	20 (2%)

Source: California Tomorrow, Primary Survey of new citizens, Los Angeles Convention Center, during a three-day mass swearing-in ceremony, December 10-12, 1986.

APPENDIX D

OTHER STUDIES

Despite the paucity of research in the field, several studies since 1980 have proven especially noteworthy. They include:

1. Alvarez, Robert R., "A Profile of the Citizenship Process Among Hispanics in the United States," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, pp. 327-351.

The author interviewed 38 newly naturalized Hispanics in Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, and New York. He used an informal, open-ended approach to explore issues participants considered important.

Findings include: New citizens consistently expressed a positive attitude toward the U.S. as a nation, despite difficulty with the INS and the naturalization process. (p. 330-331)

Most participants retained a "cultural allegiance" to the country of origin, feeling warmth and affection toward it. (p. 330)

Participants generally found the swearing-in ceremony very moving, and felt it contributed to their overall positive feeling about the U.S. (p. 331)

Most participants arrived in the U.S. with no intention of becoming a citizen, but long residence in this country – combined with such factors as marriage, U.S.-born children, job stability, new friends, and a relatively high standard of living – changed their minds. (p. 332)

Participants also recognized the many legal benefits to citizenship, such as voting, equality before the law, job opportunities, and family reunification. (p. 332)

Participants identified reasons why other Hispanics chose not to become citizens as: fear of rejection in the country of origin, lack of information about naturalization, expectation of return to the home country, fear of the INS exam, poor knowledge of English, and fear of social reprisals. (p. 333)

Most participants had come to the U.S. with a marketable skill, which allowed

them to attain some economic stability. (p. 333)

Most participants viewed the INS as an inhibitor of citizenship, and naturalization as a mysterious process swathed in myth and misinformation. (p. 334)

95% of the participants naturalized after at least 10 years residence, 79% after 15 years, and 39.5% after 25. (p. 343)

The most important aspect in completing naturalization successfully was "a supportive context for the individual," including networks of friends, job stability, family nurturance, and relatively high standard of living. (p. 345)

Immigration help centers often played a crucial role in clarifying the mysteries of naturalization. (p. 346)

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2. Barkan, Elliott R., and Nikolai Khokhlov, "Socioeconomic Data as Indices of Naturalization Patterns in the United States: A Theory Revisited," *Ethnicity*, vol. 7, no. 2, June 1980, pp. 159-190.

The authors used data from the 1950 and 1970 censuses to investigate the thesis that "the cultural determinants" of naturalization were education, occupation, and income. They focused on 10 groups in 1950 and 11 in 1970, all from either Europe or the Americas. They excluded Asians, as many were not eligible for citizenship before 1952.

Findings include: No consistent relation was observed between naturalization rate and either education, occupational level, or income. (p. 180)

The authors suggest that the main determinant of naturalization is "an assimilation attitude" composed of 12 variables: motives for coming, pressures to remain, status on arrival (spouses and children of citizens, refugees, and immigrants who have served in the U.S. armed forces naturalize more readily), age and sex (younger people and women are more likely to naturalize), proximity to homeland, returning or "commuting" migration (which slows naturalization), political conditions here, length of time here, residential location, pragmatic legal benefits, mobility, and rate of acculturation. (pp. 180-185)

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3. Barkan, Elliott R., and Robert O'Brien, "Naturalization Trends Among Selected Asian Immigrants, 1950-1976," *Ethnic Forum Journal*, vol. 4, no. 1, Fall 1984, pp. 91-107.

This study examines INS data on Asian immigrants who qualified for special naturalization in less than five years, because of their status as military person-

nel, minor children of naturalized citizens, or spouses of citizens.

Findings include: "Between 1958 and 1976 over two-fifths of all new Asian American citizens qualified under special provisions -- far more than twice the proportion of all others." (p. 92)

Asians also qualified for special naturalization more quickly than either North Americans or Europeans. (p. 95)

•

4. Cornelius, Wayne A., *The Future of Mexican Immigrants in California: A New Perspective for Public Policy*, Working Papers in U.S.-Mexican Studies, #6, La Jolla, CA, University of California at San Diego, 1981.

The author based this study on interviews with 185 Mexican immigrants, one half legal residents (only four of them naturalized) and one-half undocumented.

Findings include: Respondents gave the following main reasons for not naturalizing: 1) perceived lack of proficiency in English, 2) fear of loss of property rights in Mexico, 3) hope of returning to Mexico, and 4) lack of perception of personal economic advantage from citizenship. (p. 60)

The study suggests that naturalization may increase among Mexican immigants in the future as a result of increases in education and English proficiency.

•

5. Fernandez, Celestino, and Maria Luisa Frias, "Factors Affecting the Rate of Naturalization Among Mexican Immigrants: Research Findings and Field Observations," *First National Conference on Citizenship and the Hispanic Community: Proceedings*, Washington, D.C., NALEO Education Fund, 1985, pp. 27-41.

This study is based on a series of in-depth interviews with 40 long-term legal Mexican resident aliens and 20 naturalized citizens. Of the entire sample, 50 lived in the Los Angeles area and 10 in Tucson, Arizona.

Findings include: Lack of education alone does not preclude an *interest* in naturalization, but the less educated are likely to find the structural barriers in the process – the English and history/government knowledge requirements – more difficult. It is simply harder for the less educated to master these subjects. Hence there is a strong association between higher levels of education and naturalization. (pp. 32-33)

As other researchers have observed, age, occupation, and length of residence are also directly related to rate of naturalization. However, this study found that

immigrants in the unskilled labor categories expressed as much interest in naturalization as immigrant professionals. The professionals were simply more likely to commence the process. (pp. 33-34)

Women were more practical than men regarding naturalization. They recognized the importance and benefits of citizenship, and were more likely to accept the fact that they were permanently residing in the U.S. Men were more likely to cling to the belief that they would one day return to Mexico. In most families, particularly those where both husband and wife had naturalized, the wife invariably provided the initial impetus toward citizenship. (pp. 33-34)

Finally, the study noted:

> The Oath of Allegiance also acts against naturalization for Mexican immigrants. Since the Oath of Allegiance also includes renouncing all allegiance to the immigrants' former country, it is very difficult for Mexicans to *voltearle la espalda a México* [turn their back on Mexico]. There is a good deal of confusion among some people who believe that this literally means stepping on the Mexican flag and renouncing one's cultural heritage . . . . A frequent comment voiced by our respondents was that, *Nací mexicano y moriré mexicano* [I was born Mexican and I shall die Mexican]. This obviously was a very popular saying among Mexican immigrants as we heard it rather frequently. (pp. 36-37)

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6. Garcia, John A., "Political Integration of Mexican Immigrants: Explorations into the Naturalization Process," *International Migration Review*, vol. 15, no. 4, Winter 1981, pp. 608-625.

This study examines data on 369 Mexican immigrants, a subsample of the 1979 Chicano Survey. 14% of these respondents had become citizens, and 55.5% of those not naturalized said they intended to naturalize in the future. (p. 617)

Respondents who intended to naturalize gave as their reasons: access to broader employment opportunities, "program participation," higher social status, family considerations, and satisfaction with life in the U.S. (p. 617). The major reason for not naturalizing was absence of perceived benefits from citizenship or imperatives to obtain it. (p. 618)

The following variables were significantly associated with non-naturalized status or lack of desire to naturalize: extent of family ties with Mexico, frequent visits to Mexico, low English language proficiency, greater preference for Mexican friends, low education level, little identification with the U.S., high identification with Mexico, and a more negative assessment of the responsiveness of social

agents to Mexican persons. (pp. 618-620)

Among the variables significantly associated with non-naturalized status (as opposed to non-naturalized status plus a lack of desire to naturalize), the most "critical" was the lack of identification with the U.S. (p. 620) Length of residence was significantly associated with naturalized status. (p. 620-621)

The analysis ultimately suggests that while naturalization status can be explained by a strong identification with the U.S. coupled with length of stay, predicting who will pursue citizenship is much more complex, particularly given individual traits and attitudes. (p. 622)

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7. Jasso, Guillermina, and Mark R. Rosenzweig, "U.S. Immigration Law and Immigrant Behavior: Preliminary Findings from a Longitudinal Analysis," unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, August, 1984.

The authors examined data from a random sample of 2,044 individuals who became new permanent residents from July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971. They also looked at characteristics of the immigrants' countries of origin, as well as earnings data for immigrants who had both naturalized by 1979 and reported an occupation, a total of 442 people.

Findings include: Groups of immigrants undergo an initial screening when applying for permanent residency, so different ethnic groups may not be equivalent. (p. 4)

Males and married persons were more likely to naturalize. (p. 15)

The decision to naturalize was positively associated with country of origin having a centrally-planned economy and a high life expectancy. (p. 17)

The decision to naturalize was negatively associated with per capita GNP in 1978, the inflation rate, the literacy rate, and the population growth rate. (p. 17)

"The effect of the country-of-origin's distance from the Unied States is close to zero." (p. 17)

Overall, occupation as a professional proved the best predictor of naturalization. (p. 18)

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8. Pachon, Harry P., "Naturalization: Determinants and Process in the Hispanic Community," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, pp. 299-309.

This study reviews data on the background of, reasons for, and consequences of low Hispanic naturalization.

Findings include: The low rate of Mexican naturalization has historic roots. For at least 49 years after the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the eligibility of Mexicans to naturalize was legally unclear. By 1910, only 11% of the 100,000 Mexicans natives living in the U.S. had naturalized. (pp. 299-300)

Other Latinos have also shown low rates of naturalization. As of 1980, 63% of Dominicans, 65% of Colombians, and 71% of Salvadorans here five years or more had not naturalized. (p. 300)

Review of the literature indicates four main reasons why Hispanics tend not to naturalize: proximity and ties to home country, sense of being "outsiders," confusion about or inability to meet naturalization requirements, and bureaucratic obstacles to naturalization. (pp. 304-305)

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9. Pachon, Harry P., and Louis DeSipio, "The Attitudes of Citizenship Service Providers Toward Low Rates of Naturalization in the Hispanic Community," Washington, D.C., NALEO, 1986.

This study analyzes the findings of a nationwide poll of citizenship providers to measure indirectly Latino community attitudes toward naturalization.

Findings include: Respondents gave three main reasons for naturalizing: the right to bring in more relatives in a shorter time, the right to naturalize children, and access to better jobs. (p. 15)

Respondents saw the right to vote as only moderately important, and scored access to government assistance programs even lower. (p. 15)

Reasons for *not* seeking citizenship were less clear. The only "very important" factor was "the inability to understand English." The second most important factor was linked to language: "the inability to pass the citizenship exam." Both factors were highly correlated. (pp. 15-16)

"Fear of the INS" and "inefficiency of the INS" were of moderate importance. (The latter result was interesting, since while many service providers see major problems with INS efficiency, they do not view it as a significant discouraging factor for Hispanic permanent residents.) (p. 16)

The net effect of controlling for service providers with heavy Latino vs. non-Latino clienteles was to highlight the importance of statutory obstacles, such as the English and government/history requirements, as well as to reaffirm the importance of proximity to the home country. However, fear of the INS and fear of discrimination toward Latinos were not given higher importance by service providers serving large Latino clienteles. (p. 18)

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10. Portes, Alejandro, and John W. Curtis, "Changing Flags: Naturalization and its Determinants Among Mexican Immigrants," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, pp. 352-371.

The authors analyzed secondary data based on interviews with legal Mexican immigrants interviewed just after arrival in the U.S., and again after three and six years residence here. The sample included 822 males aged 18 to 60 crossing at Texas border entry points from Laredo up to El Paso.

Findings include: Factors one would expect to correlate positively with the decision to naturalize – including age, education, occupation, income, and length of time in the U.S. – in fact do not. (p. 361)

Three "themes" did show a direct and positive correlation with naturalization: 1) "rootedness" in the U.S., a factor embracing such variables as home ownership and number of children; 2) residence, including ethnicity of neighborhood and community of origin (immigrants from large cities appear less attached to their Mexican origin and thus more apt to acquire U.S. citizenship); and 3) "barriers-and-attitudes," including type of entry visa, knowledge of English, and perception of U.S. society and discrimination. (pp. 369-370)

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11. Portes, Alejandro, and Rafael Mozo, "The Political Adaptation Process of Cubans and Other Ethnic Minorities in the United States: A Preliminary Analysis," *International Migration Review*, vol. 19, no. 1, Spring 1985, pp. 35-63.

The authors compare the patterns of naturalization, voting registration, turnout, and political sentiment of Cubans with those of other ethnic groups.

Findings include: Cubans are now the second-largest foreign-born minority in the U.S., and the third largest Hispanic group. (p. 35)

In recent years, Cubans have shown a rapid rate of naturalization. More than 178,000 Cubans naturalized in the 1970s, 12% of the total for the decade. By comparison, Mexicans naturalizations constituted only 6%. (p. 39)

Only Asians naturalize more rapidly than Cubans. (p. 61)

The authors suggest that national differences in naturalization stem from three factors: proximity of homeland, reasons for departure, and educational and occupational background. Among Cubans, the reason for departure and the almost irreversible nature of that decision play a paramount role. (p. 40, 47)

Cuban immigrants seem to register and vote at a higher rate than the Hispanic population nationwide. (p. 50)

Though Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants tend to vote Democratic, Cuban precincts in Dade County are generally quite conservative. In the 1980 presidential election, while 95% of voters in black precincts voted for Carter, almost 75% of voters in Hispanic precincts voted for Reagan. Overall in Dade County, about 50% voted for Reagan. (pp. 53-55)

APPENDIX E

CALIFORNIA CITIZENSHIP SERVICE PROVIDERS

SAN DIEGO AND IMPERIAL COUNTIES

Council of Filipino-American Organizations
3400 E. 8th Street, Suite 211
National City, California 92050
(619) 474-8548

Metropolitan Area Advisory Committee
140 W. 16th Street
National City, California 92050
(619) 474-2232

International Rescue Committee
3869 42nd Street
San Diego, California 92105
(619) 584-8283

Impact, Inc.
1789 National Ave.
San Diego, California 92113
(619) 239-3881

Catholic Community Services
4643 Mission Gorge Place
San Diego, California 92120
(619) 287-9454

Calexico Neighborhood House
506 Fourth Street
Calexico, California 92231
(619) 357-6875

Coachella Valley Adult Schools
1538 7th Street
Coachella, California 92236
(619) 398-6302

ORANGE, RIVERSIDE AND SAN BERNARDINO COUNTIES

Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Orange
1506 Brookhollow, Suite 112
Santa Ana, California 92705
(714) 662-7500

Inland Counties Legal Services
1860 Chicago Ave., I-3
Riverside, California 92507
(714) 784-1020

Inland Empire Latino Lawyers Association Legal Aid Project
4366 Bermuda Ave.
Riverside, California 92507
(714) 686-6266

LOS ANGELES, VENTURA AND SANTA BARBARA COUNTIES

National Center for Immigrants' Rights
1636 W. 8th Street, Suite 215
Los Angeles, California 90017
(213) 487-2531

Los Angeles Unified School District
4650 W. Olympic Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90019
(213) 931-1026

NALEO Southern California Citizenship Services Center
1114 S. Lorena Street
Los Angeles, California 90023
(800) 446-2536 (national) or 346-2536 (California)

L.A. Center for Law and Justice
2606 E. First Street
Los Angeles, California 90033
(213) 266-2690

International Institute of Los Angeles
435 S. Boyle Ave.
Los Angeles, California 90033
(213) 264-6210

Lutheran Social Services of Southern California, Inc.
1345 S. Burlington Ave., #204
Los Angeles, California 90006-5417
(213) 385-2191

Catholic Charities – Citizenship Division
1400 W. 9th Street
Los Angeles, California 90015
(213) 251-3471

One Stop Immigration and Educational Center
3600 E. Whittier Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90023
(213) 268-8472

Human Services Association
5856 Ludell Street
Bell Gardens, California 90201
(213) 773-3911

All Culture Friendship Center
4754 W. 120th Street
Hawthorne, California 90250
(213) 675-0391

Centro de la Raza/Pan American Community Center
302 W. 7th Street
Long Beach, California 90813
(213) 436-3770

Monrovia Adult School
845 W. Colorado Blvd.
Monrovia, California 91016
(818) 359-2507

San Fernando Valley Neighborhood Legal Services, Inc.
13327 Van Nuys Blvd.
Pacoima, California 91331
(818) 890-2406

San Juan Macias Immigrant Orientation Center
11920 1/2 Foothill Blvd.
Lakeview Terrace, California 91342
(818) 896-1156

Bernardi Multiperson Center for Senior Citizens
6514 Sylmar Ave.
Van Nuys, California 91401
(818) 781-1101

International Institute of Los Angeles
14701 Friar Street
Van Nuys, California 91411
(818) 988-1332

Martin Luther King Campesino Center
2035 Saviers Road, #4
Oxnard, California 93033
(805) 487-1323

CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

O.L.A. Raza, Inc.
132 E. Mill
Porterville, California 93257
(209) 784-1121

Catholic Charities, Immigration-Refugees Division
631 E. California Ave.
Bakersfield, California 93307
(805) 325-7751

Lao Family Community of Fresno, Inc.
3121 E. Olive Ave.
Fresno, California 93702
(209) 264-4080

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Martin Luther King Campesino Center
14 South Wood Street
Salinas, California 93901
(408) 424-3981

The Immigration Project – Catholic Social Services
1705 Second Ave.
Salinas, California 93905
(408) 422-0602

Sunnyvale Community Services
810 W. McKinley Ave.
Sunnyvale, California 94086
(408) 738-4321

People's Immigration Services
6 Alexander Street
Watsonville, California 95076
(408) 722-7118

Catholic Social Service Immigration and Counseling Center
P.O. Box 2397
San Jose, California 95109
(408) 293-5374

Western Social Services Immigration Outreach Center
540 N. California Street, Suite 110
Stockton, California 95202
(209) 464-8011

International Institute
24301 Southland
Hayward, California 94545
(415) 783-1853

Immigration Project
1232 33rd Ave.
Oakland, California 94601
(415) 261-1538

International Institute of the East Bay
297 Lee Street
Oakland, California 94610
(415) 451-2846

Catholic Social Services of San Francisco
1049 Market Street
San Francisco, California 94103
(415) 775-4951

Mission Community Legal Defense, Inc.
2940 16th Street, Suite 301
San Francisco, California 94103
(415) 552-7194

Catholic Social Service
2940 16th Street, Room 206
San Francisco, California 94103
(415) 861-2387

International Institute of San Francisco
2209 Van Ness Ave.
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 673-1720

Lutheran Social Services of Northern California
1101 O'Farrell Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 474-4840

Refugee Resettlement Office
709 Davis
P.O. Box 4900
Santa Rosa, California 95402
(707) 578-6000

Intercultural Action Center
P.O. Box 4566
Santa Rosa, California 95402
(707) 542-3773

Catholic Social Service
730 S Street
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 441-1637

International Technical Service
4280 Armadale
Sacramento, California 95823
(916) 395-6429

FOOTNOTES

1 U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: *1970 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1970, Table 12, p. 57; *1986 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1987, Table 17, p. 35.

2 U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, *1986 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1987, Table 17, p. 35.

3 In December, 1987, the California Department of Finance estimated that, of the 1.7 million individuals eligible for amnesty under the new immigration law, only about 950,000 would likely apply, and only 900,000 would complete the application process successfully. According to the Western Regional Office of the INS, as of April 11, 1988, approximately 858,000 amnesty applications had been filed in California. Oral communication, April 15, 1988.

4 According to Dr. Leo Estrada, professor of urban planning at UCLA, the 1980 U.S. Census suggests there are about 2.2 million non-citizen foreign-born in California, 900,000 of whom are undocumented. Of the remaining 1.3 million legal residents, 650,000 is a cautious estimate of those who will naturalize, taking into account those who are either too young to naturalize or elderly and unlikely to. Oral communication.

5 Harry P. Pachon, "An Overview of Citizenship in the Hispanic Community," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, p. 301.

6 *Ibid.*

7 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 194, pp. 6-7, 6-8.

8 *Ibid.*

9 According to the California Department of Education, approximately 500,000 adults are currently receiving ESL and/or civics instruction statewide, with a substantial proportion receiving ESL. The Department estimates that 353,808 will seek ESL as a direct result of the new immigration law. See the California Department of Education's *IRCA Information Sheet*, March, 1988.

10 *Immigration and Naturalization Service Naturalizations Summary Report*, Form G-22.3, for fiscal year 1986-87.

11 The Field Institute, *The California Opinion Index: A Digest on California's Political Demography*, vol. 1, January, 1988, p. 7.

12 In 1982, 49.1% of eligible voters cast their ballots. James S. Fay, Anne G. Lipow, and Stephanie W. Fay, eds., *The California Almanac*, 1986-1987 edition, Novato, CA, Presidio Press, 1985, sec. 16, p. 5. In 1986, the percentage declined to 43.3%. The Field Institute, *The California Opinion Index: A Digest on California's Political Demography*, vol. 1, January, 1988, p. 1.

13 More specifically, 54% were born out of state. 39% came from elsewhere in the U.S., and 15% from other nations. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 194, pp. 6-7, 6-8.

14 For instance, 55% of California residents age 5 or older in 1980 had moved at least once since 1975. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 200, p. 6-52.

15 *The California Almanac*, sec. 1, p. 1.

16 Yet an assortment of promising proposals has emerged. For instance, the Superintendent of Schools has argued for a mandatory curriculum of democratic values in public schools. William Honig, *Last Chance for Our Children: How You Can Help Save Our Schools*, Menlo Park, CA, Addison-Wesley, 1985, pp. 91-107. In October, 1987, the Campaign Spending Limits Act sponsored by Walter Gerken (the "Gerken Initiative") qualified for the June, 1988 ballot. It limits contributions to California legislative races, helps fund qualified candidates who agree to restrict their campaign spending, bans the transfer of contributions among candidates (except by legislative caucuses), prohibits non-election year fundraising, and places a ceiling on independent expenditures and non-monetary contributions. In addition, the Boards of Supervisors of Contra Costa, Alameda, San Francisco, and Santa Clara Counties have set up voter registration services in county public agencies, and the cities of Compton, Los Angeles, North Hollywood, and Oakland have done so in city agencies. Oral communication with Susan Phillips of the Human SERVE Fund, a national nonprofit nonpartisan organization. And a California law now mandates that state colleges and universities offer students the opportunity to engage in 30 hours of community service per year. A.B. 1820, signed into law by Governor George Deukmejian, September, 1987. Many other similar measures, local and statewide, have appeared.

17 Oral communication with Mark DiCamillo, The Field Institute, June 30, 1987.

18 Pachon, 1987, p. 302.

19 Tim Schreiner, "Why a Minority is Doing the Electing," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 7, 1986, Section A, p. 8, reporting information from The Field Institute.

20 See David E. Hayes-Bautista, Werner O. Schink, and Jorge Chapa, *The Burden of Support: Young Latinos in an Aging Society*, prepublication manuscript, pp. 1-13, to be issued by Stanford University Press in July, 1988.

21 See John A. Garcia, "Integration of Mexican Immigrants into

the United States Political System," in *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest, Appendix D, Papers on Legal Immigration to the United States* in the *Staff Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy*, Washington, D.C., 1981, p. 467, for the finding that voting rates among naturalized Mexican immigrants in the 1976 presidential election exceeded the national average.

22 See Alejandro Portes and Rafael Mozo, "The Political Adaptation Process of Cubans and Other Ethnic Minorities in the United States: A Preliminary Analysis," *International Migration Review*, vol. 19, no. 1, Spring 1985, pp. 53-55.

23 Philip J. Trounstine, "Most Vietnamese Voters in County Are Republican," *San Jose Mercury News*, August 17, 1987, pp. 1A-2A.

24 See Bruce Cain and Roderick Kiewiet, "California's Coming Minority Majority," *Public Opinion*, vol. 9, no. 1, February/March 1986, pp. 50-52.

25 Oral communication with the Western Regional Office of the INS, April 15, 1988.

26 See footnote 3.

27 Section 245A(b)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 201 of IRCA, reprinted in Stanley Mailman, ed., *The New Simpson-Rodino Immigration Law of 1986*, Washington, D.C., American Immigration Lawyers Association, 1986, pp. 619-620. Generally, IRCA provides two mechanisms by which individuals can obtain amnesty. They must either establish: a) that they entered the U.S. before January 1, 1982 and have resided here continuously and illegally since that date, or b) that they resided in the United States and performed seasonal agricultural services for 90 "man-days" during the year ending May 1, 1986. Immigrants in the latter category ("seasonal agricultural workers" or "SAWs") comprised about 22% of California's amnesty applicants as of April 11, 1988 according to an oral communication with the Western Regional Office of the INS, April 15, 1988. SAWs must apply for amnesty between June 1987 and November 1988. Depending on the amount of time a SAW has per-

formed agricultural work in the U.S., he or she can apply for permanent resident status: a) November, 1989, or one year after obtaining amnesty, whichever is later, or b) November, 1990, or two years after obtaining amnesty, whichever is later. See Section 210(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 302 of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, pp. 642-643.

28 Section 245A(b)(1)(D) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 201 of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, p. 620. However, SAWs need not satisfy the English language and citizenship requirements to apply for permanent residence. See Section 210(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 302 of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, pp. 642-643.

29 Section 245A(b)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 201 of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, p. 620. SAWs, however, cannot lose their temporary resident status unless there is determination under the Immigration and Nationality Act that they are deportable. See Section 210(a)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 302 of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, p. 643.

30 Section 274B(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 102(a) of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, pp. 607-608. However, SAWs who have obtained amnesty but not permanent residence cannot become "intending citizens."

31 Section 274B(a)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended by Section 102(a) of IRCA, reprinted in Mailman, 1986, p. 608.

32 The estimate of 1.6 million potential new citizens is based on the 650,000 individuals currently eligible who have not naturalized (see footnote 4) and the 1 million who could become citizens as a result of IRCA (see footnote 3).

33 David S. North, *The Long Gray Welcome; A Study of the American Naturalization Program*, Washington, D.C., NALEO, 1985, pp. 18-19.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

35 The foregoing rates were calculated by using data on births from the California Department of Finance's *California Statistical Abstract*, 1987 edition, Sacramento, 1987, Table E-1, p. 66, and data on the number of naturalizations from the U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, *1985 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986, Table NAT 4.1, p. 157. The derivation rate for California was determined by assuming that it was the same as the comparable rate for the United States.

36 North, 1985, p. 19.

37 *Ibid.*

38 E. B. Duarte, "Role of INS in Naturalization Outreach," in NALEO Education Fund, *First National Conference on Citizenship and the Hispanic Community: Proceedings*, Washington, D.C., NALEO Education Fund, 1985 (henceforth *NALEO Proceedings*), p. 16.

39 For further information about the legal rights of citizens compared to permanent resident aliens, see Elizabeth Hull's, *Without Justice For All: The Constitutional Rights of Aliens*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1985.

40 Charles Weissburd, Registrar-Recorder, *1988 Election Information*, Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, 1988, pp 29-35.

41 Lieutenant Governor McCarthy did not personally undergo the naturalization process, but obtained citizenship when his parents did.

42 Hull, 1985, p. 44.

43 California Employment Development Department data, August 1987.

44 North, 1985, pp. 23-25.

45 Oral communication with Jose Antonio Ortiz-Pedroza of the Los Angeles Mexican Consulate, January 28, 1987.

46 Celestino Fernandez and Maria Luisa Frias, "Factors Affecting the Rate of Naturalization Among Mexican Immigrants: Research Findings and Field Observations," in *NALEO Proceedings*, p. 36, and Robert R. Alvarez, "A Profile of the Citizenship Process Among Hispanics in the United States," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, p. 332. For a discussion of reasons cited by unnaturalized survey respondents who intend to naturalize, see John A. Garcia, "Political Integration of Mexican Immigrants: Explorations into the Naturalization Process," *International Migration Review*, vol. 15, no. 4, Winter 1981, p. 617 (henceforth Garcia, 1981b).

47 Fernandez and Frias, 1985, p. 36-38; Wayne A. Cornelius, *The Future of Mexican Immigrants in California: A New Perspective for Public Policy*, La Jolla, CA, University of California at San Diego, 1981, p. 60; and Garcia, 1981b, p. 618.

48 See Appendix C for a description of the limitations of California Tomorrow's survey and others of its kind.

49 Fernandez and Frias, 1985, pp. 37-38; Garcia 1981b, pp. 619-622; Alvarez, 1987, p. 333; Leonel J. Castillo, "Opening Remarks" in *NALEO Proceedings*, p. 8; and Alejandro Portes and John W. Curtis, "Changing Flags: Naturalization and its Determinants Among Mexican Immigrants," *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2, Summer 1987, pp. 361-365. Portes and Curtis also found that residence in an Anglo neighborhood was associated with a lesser intention to naturalize. However, this factor also correlated with an increased probability of actual acquisition of citizenship. The two authors suggest that Anglo area residence may lead to greater experience of discrimination and a more critical view of U.S. society, which discourage immigrants from naturalizing. At the same time, it may also increase knowledge of American society and heighten appreciation of the benefits of citizenship.

50 See Fernandez and Frias, 1985, p. 37, for the finding that the more family immigrants have in Mexico, the less likely they

are to naturalize. See Garcia, 1981b, pp. 618-621 for the finding that well-established links with Mexico through family ties and visits are associated with non-citizen status or a lack of desire to naturalize among immigrants. See Alvarez, 1987, p. 333, for the finding that expectation of return to the home country is one reason Latino naturalized citizens believe other Latinos do not naturalize. See also Portes and Mozo, 1985, p. 40, and Elliott Robert Barkan and Nikolai Khokhlov, "Socioeconomic Data as Indices of Naturalization Patterns in the United States: A Theory Revisited," *Ethnicity*, vol. 7, no. 2, June 1980, p. 181 for discussions of the effect of proximity of the home country on naturalization.

51 See Guillermina Jasso and Mark R. Rosenzweig, "U.S. Immigration Law and Immigrant Behavior: Preliminary Findings from a Longitudinal Analysis," unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, 1984, p. 17, and Guillermina Jasso and Mark Rosenzweig, "How Well Do U.S Immigrants Do? Vintage Effects, Emigration Selectivity and the Occupational Mobility of Immigrants," unpublished paper, University of Minnesota, 1985, p. 18, for the finding that the decision to naturalize is positively associated with a centrally-planned economy in the country of origin. See Portes and Mozo, 1985, p. 41, for a discussion of the high naturalization rate among Cuban refugees. See also Barkan and Khoklov, 1980, p. 180, for a discussion of the effect of immigrants' motives for leaving their native land and the feasibility or desirability of return.

52 See Fernandez and Frias, 1985, p. 33, for the contention that immigrants between ages 20-50 have the highest probability of naturalizing. See also Barkan and Khoklov, 1980, p. 181.

53 Fernandez and Frias, 1985, p. 34; Garcia, 1981b, p. 619; and Barkan and Khoklov, 1980, p. 184; Pachon, 1987, p. 301.

54 See Fernandez and Frias, 1985, pp. 30, 32-34, and Harry P. Pachon and Louis DeSipio, "The Attitudes of Citizenship Providers Toward Low Rates of Naturalization in the Hispanic Community," Washington, D.C., NALEO, 1986, pp. 4-8, for discussions of studies finding that socioeconomic factors have great impact on naturalization rates. Garcia, 1981b, p. 619, found that high educational attainment correlated

with naturalized status, and Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1984, p. 18, concluded that occupation as a professional proved a strong predictor of naturalization. However, not all researchers agree that education, income and occupation are significant determinants of naturalization. For example, in their analysis of 1950 and 1970 Census data, Barkan and Khoklov, 1980, p. 180, discovered no consistent relationship between naturalization rate and either education, occupational level or income. Similarly, Portes and Curtis, 1987, p. 361, found that factors including education, occupation and income did not correlate positively with the decision to naturalize. Moreover, some researchers who acknowledge that socioeconomic factors play a major role in naturalization also believe that their effect is complex. For instance, their own study leads Fernandez and Frias, 1985, pp. 32-33, to conclude that persons with little education or no occupational status are just as interested in becoming citizens as those with more formal education or higher occupational status. The less-educated simply experience greater difficulty mastering English and surmounting the other structural barriers in the process.

55 Portes and Curtis, 1987, pp. 361, 365, 369.

56 Cornelius, 1981, p. 60; Pachon and DeSipio, 1986, p. 10, 15-16; Fernandez and Frias, pp. 36 and 38; Garcia, 1981b, p. 619; Alvarez, 1987, p. 333; and Portes and Curtis, 1987, pp. 366, 370.

57 Pachon and DeSipio, 1986, pp. 11, 16.

58 U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office: *1970 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1970, Table 42A, p. 116; *1985 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1986, Table NAT 4.2, pp. 158-162. Inexplicably, in 1970, the INS provided only figures for selected countries. Hence, citizens from "Asia" include only those from China, Japan, Korea, Israel, and the Phillipines.

59 Portes and Mozo, 1985, p. 40; Fernandez and Frias, 1985, p. 35; and Garcia 1981b, pp. 620-621. In their analysis of INS data, Portes and Mozo found that Canadians comprised only

about 3 percent of all naturalizations between 1971 and 1980, despite the large pool of eligible Canadian legal immigrants. The investigators also found that the naturalization rate among Canadians who arrived in 1969-71 oscillated between one-fourth and one-fifth the average of immigrants from all other countries. Portes and Mozo, 1985, pp. 40-45. In contrast, Pachon, 1987, p. 301, studying data from the 1980 Census, found the rate of naturalization among Canadians with more than five years of residence to be 68% nationwide. In a similar analysis by California Tomorrow, the comparable rate for Canadians in California was 62.83%. Both are relatively high rates, and may result from over-reporting of naturalization status by 1980 Census respondents. See Robert Warren and Jeffrey S. Passell, "A Count of the Uncountable: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 United States Census," *Demography*, vol. 24, no. 3, August 1987, p. 377, which notes that comparison of 1980 Census data and INS data on naturalization confirms the existence of some misreporting of citizenship status by 1980 Census alien respondents. A second explanation is also possible. Portes and Mozo examined only Canadian naturalizations within ten years of arrival, while the Census data dealt with all naturalizations. Hence, the numbers are not directly comparable, and the Census figures are bound to be higher. Moreover, Canadian immigration has been declining, so an ever-larger proportion of Canadian immigrants have been here over ten years.

60 See Portes and Mozo, 1985, pp. 46-47, for discussion of the high proportion of professionals among Asian immigrants admitted to the U.S. in 1970.

61 Pachon and DeSipio, 1986, p. 9; Garcia, 1981b, pp. 619-620; and Fernandez and Frias, 1985, pp. 37-38.

62 Thomas Muller and Thomas J. Espenshade, *The Fourth Wave: California's Newest Immigrants*, Washington, D.C., The Urban Institute Press, 1985, pp. 43-47.

63 See generally, North, 1985, pp. 18-20.

64 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D,

part 6 (Calif.), Table 197, p. 6-32. The percentages of Latinos and Asians who lack English proficiency were derived by taking the total number of individuals who speak Spanish or an Asian language in their homes and calculating the percentage of those individuals who speak English not well or not at all.

65 1985-86 enrollment derives from an oral communication with a representative of the Educational Demographics Unit of the California Department of Education, March 8, 1988, reporting information compiled by the California Basic Education Data System (CBEDS). The current enrollment figure was obtained from the California Department of Education's *IRCA Information Sheet*, March, 1988.

66 Oral communication with Dale McIntire, Director of Educational Options and Support Services, LAUSD, March 1, 1988.

67 *NALEO Naturalization Quarterly*, vol. 1, nos. 3 and 4, Winter 1987, p. 7.

68 Oral communication with Domingo Rodriguez, Supervisor of Amnesty Preparation and Citizenship Programs, LAUSD, March 15, 1988.

69 Oral communication with Dale McIntire, Director of Educational Options and Support Services, LAUSD, March 1, 1988.

70 California Department of Education, *IRCA Information Sheet*, March, 1988.

71 Oral communication with Domingo Rodriguez, Supervisor of Amnesty Preparation and Citizenship Programs, LAUSD, March 15, 1988.

72 Elaine Woo, "State Guarantees Funds for Amnesty Seekers' English Classes," *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1988, part I, p. 3.

73 Oral communication with a representative of the Educational Demographics Unit, California Department of Education, March 8, 1988, reporting information compiled by the California Basic Education Data System (CBEDS).

74 California Department of Education, *IRCA Information Sheet*, March, 1988.

75 Oral communication with Domingo Rodriguez, Supervisor of Amnesty Preparation and Citizenship Programs, LAUSD, March 15, 1988.

76 Quoted in Pachon, 1987, p. 306.

77 Leticia Quezada, "Reaching Out to the Latino Community on U.S. Citizenship," *NALEO Proceedings*, p. 59.

78 For a nationwide listing of community organizations which provide information and assistance to immigrants seeking to naturalize, see NALEO's *National Directory of Citizenship Services*, Washington, D.C., NALEO Education Fund, revised Fall 1987 (henceforth *National Directory*). The *National Directory* is available from NALEO's Los Angeles office.

79 Quezada, 1985, pp. 58-60.

80 *National Directory*. The figures on the number of clients served were obtained from a 1985 edition of the *National Directory*.

81 See Rosa Mejias, "Citizenship Programs of the ILGWU" in *NALEO Proceedings*, pp. 65-67, for a description of the ILGWU's citizenship programs.

82 See *NALEO Naturalization Quarterly*, vol 2, no. 2, Summer 1987, p. 9 for a description of the UNIVISION series.

83 North, 1985, pp. 79-80, 87-88.

84 North, 1985, pp. 91-93.

85 Statistics Canada, *Canada's Immigrants*, Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 1984, p. 5; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1984, vol. 1, ch. D, part 1 (United States Summary), Table 253, p. 1-7; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, Washington, D.C., 1983, vol. 1, ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 194, p. 6-7. The U.S. and California

ch. D, part 6 (Calif.), Table 194, p. 6-7. The U.S. and California figures derive from the "foreign-born" category in the Census, which is essentially comparable to "immigrants" in Canada.

86 According to Fernandez and Frias, 1985, p. 33, "Mexican women were far more interested in becoming American citizens . . . women emerged as more practical and realistic in their approach to citizenship than men . . . they were more likely to have thought seriously about the possibility of going through the naturalization process."

87 49% of the adults of Hispanic origin nationwide who were not citizens in November 1986 had attained educational levels of eight years or less. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Voting and Registration in the Election of November, 1986*, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, no. 414, Washington, D.C., 1987, Table 5, pp. 29-30.

88 Pachon and DeSipio, 1986, p. 16, found that "the inefficiency of the INS," was seen by service providers as moderately important in Latinos' decisions not to naturalize.

89 In 1986, about 63.7% of INS expenditures went for its enforcement programs, compared to about 8.7% for citizenship. The INS budget request to Congress for 1988 was similar. See Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1988, *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations*, House of Representatives, 100th Congress, First Session, Subcommittee on the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies, Part 4, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987, Budget Justification of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, March 17, 1987, p. 1123.

90 Citizenship examiners must undergo training at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Institute in Georgia, and are required to take behavioral science courses on topics such as communication, interviewing skills, values, victim awareness and stress. These classes, particularly in the area of communication, may include multi-cultural themes.

91 According to NALEO, the federal textbook series on citizenship has recently been revised. See *NALEO Naturalization Quarterly*, vol. 1, nos. 3 and 4, Winter 1987, pp. 2-3, and vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1987, p. 5; and *The NALEO Green Sheet*, vol. 1, no. 1, for information about the revision.

92 In March, 1988, the U.S. Senate approved S. 2104, a bill which would revise several aspects of the nation's immigration law. An amendment to it provides for "administrative naturalization," which would grant the INS and the Attorney General authority to make individual naturalization decisions. Under the existing system, the INS processes naturalization applications and makes recommendations to the courts, which retain final authority on dispositions. S. 2104 would, however, allow district courts to review denial of an application, and, in effect, to conduct their own hearings. Administrative naturalization would also permit applicants to choose between the courts and an administrative setting as the site for the swearing-in ceremony. See *Interpreter Releases*, vol. 65, no. 11, March 21, 1988, p. 267. The bill also requires the INS to promote naturalization by broadly publicizing its benefits and requirements, with the assistance of community groups and private voluntary agencies. *Congressional Record*, vol. 34, no. 31, March 15, 1988, p. S 2221. The House of Representatives has passed its own administrative naturalization bill, H.R. 735, which resembles the Senate bill but lacks the provisions for promotion of naturalization and district court rehearing of cases. *Interpreter Releases*, vol. 65, no. 11, March 21, 1988, p. 267. The Senate amendment is part of legislation which extensively revises the system of preferences for immigrant visas. Among other things, it would: a) severely limit the eligibility of certain family members of permanent residents, b) create a class of visas for immigrants who can invest $1 million in the U.S. and generate employment for at least 10 U.S. individuals, and c) create another class of visas for "independent immigrants" with a threshold factor determined by points for such qualities as English language skill and education. Some people have expressed the concern that this system would shift the emphasize away from family reunification, and favor European immigrants over Asian and Latin American. *Congressional Record*, vol. 34, no. 30, March 14, 1988, pp. S 2119-2150. It is unclear

whether the Senate naturalization provisions can be uncoupled from the Senate bill as a whole, or whether either bill will pass.

93 For an excellent summary of the most recent naturalization research available, see the Summer 1987 *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 2. Included in this issue is Louis DeSipio's "Social Science Literature and the Naturalization Process," pp. 390-405, a comprehensive discussion of research into the socioeconomic and cultural factors associated with immigrants who naturalize.

94 NALEO is currently conducting a national survey of the Hispanic foreign-born, including 2,000 Hispanic legal residents who have resided in the U.S. for five years or more. The study seeks to explore the differences between those who have and have not naturalized, and assess the impact of extensive bureaucratic encounters with the INS. Preliminary data should be available by July or August.

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EXHIBIT INDEX

Exhibit A — Naturalization application and instructions

Exhibit B — Notice of preliminary naturalization hearing

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U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

EXHIBIT A

Application to File
Petition for Naturalization

Instructions to the Applicant

You must be at least 18 years old to file a petition for naturalization. Using ink or a typewriter, answer every question in the application form, whether you are male or female. If you need more space for an answer, write "Continued" in your answer, then finish your answer on a sheet of paper this size, giving the number of the question. Submit this form to the Immigration and Naturalization Service office having jurisdiction over your place of residence.

You will be examined under oath on the answers in this application when you appear for your naturalization examination.

If you wish to be called for the examination at the same time as a relative who is also applying for naturalization, make your request on a separate sheet. Be sure to give the name and the Alien Registration Number of that relative.

1. **You must submit the following (Items A, B, C and D) with the application.**

   A. **Photographs of your face:**
      1) Three identical unglazed copies, size 2 X 2 inches only.
      2) Taken within the last 30 days.
      3) Distance from top of head to point of chin to be 1 ¼ inches.
      4) On thin paper, with light background, showing front view without hat.
      5) In natural color or black and white, and not machine-made.
      6) Unsigned (but write Alien Registration Number lightly in pencil in center of reverse side).

   B. **Fingerprint Chart (Form FD-258):**
      Complete all personal data items such as name, address, date of birth, sex, etc. Write your Alien Registration Number in the space marked "Your No. OCA" or "Miscellaneous No. MNU." You must sign the chart **in the presence of the person** taking your fingerprints and have that person sign his/her name, title and date in the spaces provided. Take the chart and these instructions to a police station, sheriff's office, or an office of this Service, or other reputable person or organization for fingerprinting. (You should contact the police or sheriff's office first since some of these offices do not take fingerprints for other government agencies.) **Do not bend, fold or crease the fingerprint chart.**

   C. **Biographic Information (Form G-325):**
      Complete every item in the Biographic Information form furnished with this application and sign your name on the line provided. If you have ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States, you must also submit a completed Form G-325B.

   D. **U.S. Military Service:**
      If your application is based on your military service, you must submit Form N-426, "Request for Certification of Military or Naval Service."

2. **Fee:**
   Do not send a fee with this application.

3. **Alien Registration Receipt Card:**
   Do not send your Alien Registration Receipt Card with this application.

4. **Examination on Government and Literacy:**
   Every person applying for naturalization must show that he or she has a knowledge and understanding of the history, principles, and form of government of the United States. **There is no exemption from this requirement**, and you will be examined on these subjects when you appear before the examiner.

   You will also be examined on your ability to read, write and speak English. If on the date of your examination you are more than 50 years of age and have been a lawful permanent resident of the United States for 20 or more years, you will be exempt from the English language requirements of the law. If you are exempt, you may take the examination in any language you wish.

5. **Oath of Allegiance.**
   You will be required to take the following oath of allegiance to the United States in order to become a citizen:

   I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform noncombatant service in the armed forces of the United States when required by the law; that I will perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by the law; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God.

   If you cannot promise to bear arms or perform noncombatant service because of religious training and belief, you may omit those statements when taking the oath.

   "Religious training and belief" means a person's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or merely a personal moral code.

(Continued on reverse.)

Instructions to the Applicant - Continued

6. **The following applies only to applicants who have foreign-born children who are under 18 years of age.**

Some or all of your *own* foreign-born children (not step-children) who are not yet citizens may possibly become United States citizens automatically when you are naturalized. This will happen

A. If the child is a lawful permanent resident of the United States and still under 18 years of age when you are naturalized, and

B. If the child's other parent is already a citizen or becomes a citizen before or at the same time that you become naturalized. If, however, the child's other parent is deceased, or if you are divorced and have custody of the child, then it makes no difference that the child's other parent was or is an alien.

C. If your child is illegitimate and you are the mother, only Section A above applies.

D. If the child is adopted, is in your custody, the adoption was completed before the child's 16th birthday, and if the child is a lawful permanent resident of the United States.

E. If your child is illegitimate and you are the natural father, Section A above applies. You must establish that you were a United States citizen on the date of the child's birth, you must file an affidavit of support valid until the child's 18th birthday, and you must acknowledge paternity in writing, under oath, or have a court order stating that the child is yours.

If you wish, you may apply for a certificate of citizenship for these children on Form N-600, Application for Certificate of Citizenship, with proof of your naturalization.

7. **Notice to applicants:**

Authority for collection of the information requested in this form and those forms mentioned in the instructions hereto is contained in Sections 309, 328, 329, 332, 334, 335 or 341 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (8 U.S.C. 1439, 1440, 1443, 1445, 1446 or 1452). Submission of the information is voluntary inasmuch as the immigration and nationality laws of the United States do not require an alien to apply for naturalization. If your Social Security number is omitted from a form, no right, benefit or privilege will be denied for your failure to provide such number. However, as military records are indexed by such numbers, verification of your military service, if required to establish eligibility for naturalization, may be difficult. The principal purposes for soliciting the information are to enable designated officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to determine the admissibility of a petitioner for naturalization and to make appropriate recommendations to the naturalization courts. All or any part of the information solicited may, as a matter of routine use, be disclosed to a court exercising naturalization jurisdiction and to other federal, state, local or foreign law enforcement or regulatory agencies, Department of Defense, including any component thereof, the Selective Service System, the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, Central Intelligence Agency, Interpol and individuals and organizations in the processing of the application or petition for naturalization, or during the course of investigation to elicit further information required by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to carry out its function. Information solicited which indicates a violation or potential violation of law, whether civil, criminal or regulatory in nature, may be referred, as routine use, to the appropriate agency, whether federal, state, local or foreign, charged with the responsibility of investigating, enforcing or prosecuting such violations. Failure to provide any or all of the solicited information may result in an adverse recommendation to the court as to an alien's eligibility for naturalization and denial by the court of a petition for naturalization.

It is not possible to cover all the conditions for eligibility or to give instructions for every situation. If you have carefully read all the instructions and still have questions, please contact your nearest INS office.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Application to File
Petition for Naturalization

OMB #1115-0009

Please read the instructions before filling out this form.

This block for government use only

Section of Law

1. Your name (Exactly as it appears on your Alien Registration Receipt Card)

2. Your Alien Registration number
A

3. Your Social Security Number

4. Your name (Full true and correct name, if different from above)

5. Any other names you have used (including maiden)

6. Your date of birth (Month, Day, Year)

7. Your Sex
☐ Male ☐ Female

8. Your place of birth (City or Town)

(County, Province or State) (Country)

9. Was your father or mother ever a United States citizen?
(If Yes, explain fully) ☐ Yes ☐ No

10. Can you read and write English?
☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Can you speak English?
☐ Yes ☐ No

12. Can you sign your name in English?
☐ Yes ☐ No

13. Date you were admitted for permanent residency (Month, Day, Year)

14. Place you were admitted for permanent residency (City and State)

15. Date your continuous residency began in the U.S. (Month, Day, Year)

16. How long have you continuously resided in the State where you now live?
(Number of Months)

17. Do you intend to reside permanently in the United States?
(If No, explain fully) ☐ Yes ☐ No

18. Have you served in the United States Armed Forces?
(If Yes, complete all of #18) ☐ Yes ☐ No

Branch of Service (Indicate if Reserve or National Guard) ☐ Inducted ☐ Enlisted

Location where you entered (City and State)

Service began (Month, Day, Year)

Service ended (Month, Day, Year)

Service number

Rank at discharge

Type of discharge (Honorable, Dishonorable, etc.)

Reason for discharge (Average, conscientious objector, other)

19. At what addresses in the United States have you lived during the last 5 years? List present address *first*.

Street Address	City *county* and State	From (Month, Day, Year)	To (Month, Day, Year)
			Present

20. What employment have you held during the last 5 years? List present or most recent employment *first*. (If none, write "None")

Name and Address of Employer	Occupation or Type of Business	From (Month, Day, Year)	To (Month, Day, Year)

Form N-400 (12/05/86) N

21. What is your present marital status?

☐ Married ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced ☐ Single

22. Complete the following ***regarding your husband or wife if you are currently married.***

First (given) name	Date married (Month, Day, Year)	Date of birth (Month, Day, Year)	Country of birth
Place he or she entered the U.S.	Date entered the U.S. (Month, Day, Year)	His or her Alien Registration Number	Present immigration status
Date naturalized (Month, Day, Year)	Place naturalized	Present address (street and number)	City and State or country

23. Complete the following if you were previously married. Total number of times you have been married _____

Name of prior husband or wife	Date of marriage (Month, Day, Year)	Date marriage ended (Month, Day, Year)	How marriage ended	INS status
				☐ Alien ☐ Citizen
				☐ Alien ☐ Citizen
				☐ Alien ☐ Citizen

24. Complete the following if your present husband or wife was previously married. Total number of times your husband or wife has been married _____

Name of prior husband or wife	Date of marriage (Month, Day, Year)	Date marriage ended (Month, Day, Year)	How marriage ended	INS status
				☐ Alien ☐ Citizen
				☐ Alien ☐ Citizen
				☐ Alien ☐ Citizen

25. Complete all columns for each of your children. If child lives with you, state "with me" in Location column; otherwise, give the City and State of that child's residence. Indicate your total number of children _____

Given name	Date of birth	Country of birth	Date of entry	Port of entry	Location	Alien Registration No.	Sex
							☐ Male ☐ Female
							☐ Male ☐ Female
							☐ Male ☐ Female
							☐ Male ☐ Female
							☐ Male ☐ Female
							☐ Male ☐ Female

26. Complete the following with regard to each absence you have had from the United States ***for a period of six months or less*** since you entered for permanent residence. (If none, write "None.")

Ship, airline, railroad or bus company, or other means used to return to the United States	Returned at (Place or port of entry)	Date departed	Date returned

27. Complete the following with regard to each absence you have had from the United States ***for a period of six months or more*** since you entered for permanent residence. (If none, write "None.")

Ship, airline, railroad or bus company, or other means used to return to the United States	Returned at (Place or port of entry)	Date departed	Date returned

28. The law provides that you may not be regarded as qualified for naturalization if you knowingly committed certain offenses or crimes, even though you may not have been arrested. Have you ever, in or outside the United States:

If you answer "Yes" to a) or b), give the following information as to each incident:

a) knowingly committed any crime for which you have not been arrested? ☐ Yes ☐ No

b) been arrested, cited, charged, indicted, convicted, fined or imprisoned for breaking or violating any law or ordinance, including traffic regulations? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Where (City, State, and Country)	Date of Offense	Nature of Offense or Violation (Explain Fully)

29. List your present and past membership in or affiliation with every organization, association, fund, foundation, party, club, society or similar group in the United States or in any other place, and your foreign military service (if none, write "None").

Name of organization	Location of organization	Membership from	Membership to

30. Are you now, or have you ever, in the United States or in any other place been a member of, or in any other way connected or associated with, the Communist Party? (If "Yes," attach full explanation.) ☐ Yes ☐ No

31. Have you ever knowingly aided or supported the Communist Party directly or indirectly through another organization, group or person? (If "Yes," attach full explanation.) ☐ Yes ☐ No

32. Do you now or have you ever advocated, taught, believed in or knowingly supported or furthered the interests of Communism? (If "Yes," attach full explanation.) ☐ Yes ☐ No

33. During the period March 23, 1933 to May 8, 1945, did you serve in, or were you in any way affiliated with, either directly or indirectly, any military unit, paramilitary unit, police unit, self-defense unit, vigilante unit, citizen unit, unit of the Nazi Party or SS, government agency or office, extermination camp, concentration camp, prisoner of war camp, prison, labor camp, detention camp or transit camp, under the control or affiliated with:

a) the Nazi Government of Germany? ☐ Yes ☐ No

b) any Government in any area occupied by, allied with, or established with the assistance or cooperation of, the Nazi Government of Germany? ☐ Yes ☐ No

34. During the period of March 23, 1933 to May 8, 1945, did you ever, directly or indirectly, participate in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin or political opinion? ☐ Yes ☐ No

35. Were you born with, or have you acquired in some way, any title of order of nobility in any foreign state? ☐ Yes ☐ No

36. Have you ever been declared legally incompetent or have you ever been confined as a patient in a mental institution? ☐ Yes ☐ No

37. Are deportation proceedings pending against you, or have you ever been deported or ordered deported, or have you ever applied for suspension of deportation? ☐ Yes ☐ No

38. When was your last federal income tax return filed?
Year: _____

39. Since becoming a permanent resident of the United States, have you failed to file an income tax return as a nonresident? (If "Yes," explain fully.) ☐ Yes ☐ No

40. Since becoming a permanent resident of the United States, have you failed to file an income tax return because you regarded yourself as a nonresident? (If "Yes," explain fully.) ☐ Yes ☐ No

41 Have you ever claimed in writing, or in any other way, to be a United States citizen?

☐ Yes ☐ No

42 Have you ever deserted from the military, air or naval forces of the United States?

☐ Yes ☐ No

43 Have you ever left the United States to avoid being drafted into the Armed Forces of the United States?

☐ Yes ☐ No

44 Do you believe in the Constitution and form of government of the United States?

☐ Yes ☐ No

45 Are you willing to take the full oath of allegiance to the United States? (See instruction #5)

☐ Yes ☐ No

46 If the law requires it, are you willing to bear arms on behalf of the United States? (If "No," attach a full explanation)

☐ Yes ☐ No

47 If the law requires it, are you willing to perform noncombatant services in the Armed Forces of the United States? (If "No," attach a full explanation)

☐ Yes ☐ No

48 If the law requires it, are you willing to perform work of national importance under civilian direction? (If "No," attach a full explanation)

☐ Yes ☐ No

49 Did you ever apply for exemption from military service because of alienage, conscientious objections, or other reasons? (If "Yes," attach a full explanation)

☐ Yes ☐ No

50 Did you ever register under United States Selective Service laws or draft laws? (If "Yes," complete the following)

☐ Yes ☐ No

Date registered

Selective Service Number

Local Board Number

Present classification

51 The law provides that you may not be regarded as qualified for naturalization if, at *any* time during the period for which you are required to prove good moral character, you have been a habitual drunkard, advocated or practiced polygamy, have been a prostitute or procured anyone for prostitution, have knowingly and for gain helped any alien to enter the United States illegally, have been an illicit trafficker in narcotic drugs or marijuana, have received your income mostly from illegal gambling, or have given false testimony for the purpose of obtaining any benefits under this Act. Have you ever, *anywhere*, been such a person or committed any of these acts? If you answer yes to any of these, attach full explanation

☐ Yes ☐ No

This block is to be completed by the person preparing form, if other than the applicant.

I declare that this document was prepared by me at the request of the applicant and is based on all information of which I have any knowledge.

Signature

X

Address

Telephone Number Date

You may, by law, change your name at the time you are naturalized. If you wish to do so, please print or type that name below, or the name you want your certificate of naturalization issued under.

Signature of Applicant

X

Mailing Address

Telephone Number Date

Do not fill in blanks below these lines: *This application must be sworn to before an officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.*

AFFIDAVIT

I do swear that I know the contents of this application, comprising pages 1 to 4 inclusive, and the supplemental forms thereto.

(Form Numbers _____) I subscribed to by me, that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, that corrections numbered

_____ to _____

*were made by me or at my request, and that this application was signed by me with my full, true and correct name, **so help me God.***

(Complete and true signature of applicant)

Subscribed and sworn to before me by applicant at the preliminary investigation

_____ _____ _____

At

This _____ day of _____ 19 _____

I certify that before verification of the above applicant stated in my presence he or she had (heard) read the foregoing application, corrections therein, and supplemental form(s) and understood the contents thereof.

(Naturalization Examiner)

(Demonstrate applicant's ability to write English)

Not Filed

(Date, reasons)

EXHIBIT B

OMB #1115-0064
Expires 3/31/84

U S Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Notice of Preliminary Naturalization Hearing

Naturalization and Citizenship Branch

300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90012

File or A #

Date 10/19/1987

You are hereby notified to appear for a hearing on your (your child's) application for naturalization at the DATE, TIME, AND PLACE, shown below

Date 10/30/1987

Time 2:15 PM

Place 300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90012
FEDERAL BUILDING - DOWNTOWN
ROOM NUMBER: B-119

NAME AND ADDRESS IN THIS AREA

You MUST BRING the following with you:

- This letter, with the Personal Description Form on the REVERSE SIDE COMPLETELY FILLED IN.
- Alien Registration Receipt Card.
- Any evidence of Selective Service Registration.
- Any documents you have which you used in connection with any entries into the United States.
- Those items noted on the reverse side of this letter which are applicable to you.
- Filing Fee. NO CASH ACCEPTED. BRING $50 MONEY ORDER OR CASHIERS CHECK ONLY. MAKE PAYABLE TO "U.S. DISTRICT COURT". BE PREPARED TO SPEND 4-5 HOURS FOR COMPLETION.

ERNEST E. GUSTAFSON
DISTRICT DIRECTOR

Please KEEP this APPOINTMENT even if you do not have all the items noted above or those on the back. However, you MUST bring the Filing Fee.

Form N-410A

IMPORTANT -- PLEASE SEE REVERSE

EXHIBIT C

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by Clerk of Court)

Petition No. 48-6411

A.R. No.

To the Honorable Judges, DISTRICT Court for the United States at LOS ANGELES, CA.

This petition for naturalization, hereby made and filed under section 316 Immigration and Nationality Act, respectfully shows:

(1) My full, true, and correct name is _____
(Full, true name, without abbreviation)

(2) My present place of residence is

(Street) (City) (State)

(3) I was born on _____ in _____

(4) I request that my name be changed to

(5) I was lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence and have not abandoned such residence.

(6) (If petition filed under Section 316(a).) I have resided continuously in the United States for at least five years and continuously in the State in which this petition is made for at least six months, immediately preceding the date of this petition and after my lawful admission for permanent residence, and I have been physically present in the United States for at least one half of such five year period.

(7) (If petition filed under Section 319(a).) I have resided continuously in the United States in marital union with my present spouse for at least three years immediately preceding the date of this petition, and after my lawful admission for permanent residence, during all of which period my said spouse has been a United States citizen, and have been physically present in the United States at least one half of such three year period. I have resided continuously in the State in which this petition is made at least six months immediately preceding the date of this petition.

(8) (If petition is filed under Section 319 (b).) My present spouse is a citizen of the United States, in the employment of the Government of the United States, or of an American institution of research recognized as such by the Attorney General, or an American firm or corporation engaged in whole or in part in the development of foreign trade and commerce of the United States, or subsidiary thereof, or of a public international organization in which the United States participates by treaty or statute, or is authorized to perform the ministerial or priestly functions of a religious denomination having a bona fide organization within the United States, or is employed solely as a missionary by a religious denominational mission organization having a bona fide organization within the United States, and such spouse is regularly stationed abroad in such employment. I intend in good faith upon naturalization to live abroad with my spouse and to resume my residence within the United States immediately upon termination of such employment abroad.

(9) (If petition is filed under Section 328.) I have served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States for a period or periods aggregating three years. I have never been separated from the Armed Forces of the United States under other than honorable conditions. If not still in service, my service terminated within six months of the filing of my petition.

(10) (If petition is filed under Section 329.) While an alien or non-citizen national of the United States, I served honorably in an active duty status in the military, air, or naval forces of the United States during [illegible] World War I on dates or periods beginning September 1, 1939, and ending December 31, 1946, or during a period beginning June 25, 1950, and ending July 1, 1955, or during a period beginning February 28, 1961, and ending October 15, 1978, or I was discharged after five years of service under the Act of June 30, 1940 (54 Stat. 673, 677, 31st Congress). If separated from such service, I was separated under honorable conditions. At the time of enlistment, reenlistment, or induction I was in the United States, the Canal Zone, American Samoa, or Swains Island. If not in any of these places, I was lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence subsequent to enlistment or induction. I was never separated from such service on account of alienage. I was not a conscientious objector who performed no military, air, or naval duty whatever or refused to wear the uniform. I have not previously been naturalized on the basis of the same period of service.

(11) I am not and have not been, within the meaning of the Immigration and Nationality Act, for a period of at least 10 years immediately preceding the date of this petition, a member of or affiliated with any organization proscribed by such Act, or any section, subsidiary, branch, affiliate or subdivision thereof, nor have I during such period believed in, advocated, engaged in, or performed any of the acts or activities proscribed by such Act.

(12) I am, and have been during all the periods required by law, a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States.

(13) It is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States and take without qualification the oath of renunciation and allegiance prescribed by the Immigration and Nationality Act, and to reside permanently in the United States. I am willing, when required by law, to bear arms on behalf of the United States, to perform noncombatant service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and to perform work of national importance under civilian direction (unless exempted therefrom).

(14) I am able to read, write, and speak the English language (unless exempted therefrom), and I have a knowledge and understanding of the fundamentals of the history, and of the principles and form of government of the United States.

(15) Wherefore I request that I may be admitted a citizen of the United States of America. I swear (affirm) that I know the contents of this petition for naturalization subscribed by me, and that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that this petition is signed by me with my full true name. So Help Me God.

(16)

_____
(Full Name, Without Abbreviation)

WHEN OATH ADMINISTERED BY CLERK OR DEPUTY CLERK OF COURT

Subscribed and sworn to (affirmed) before me by above named petitioner in the respective forms of oath shown in said petition and affidavit, and filed by said petitioner, in the office of the clerk of said court at LOS ANGELES, CA

this 18th day of August, 1983

LEONARD A. CARDENAS
Clerk

_____
Deputy Clerk

[SEAL]

WHEN OATH ADMINISTERED BY DESIGNATED EXAMINER

Subscribed and sworn to (affirmed) before me by above named petitioner in the respective forms of oath shown in said petition and affidavit at _____ this _____ day of _____, 19 _____

_____
Designated Examiner

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the foregoing petition for naturalization was by petitioner named herein filed in the office of the clerk of said court at _____ this _____ day of _____, 19 _____

_____
Clerk

EXHIBIT D

U. S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Notice of Final Naturalization Hearing

Naturalization and Citizenship Branch

300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90012

File or A #

Petition #

Date 3/27/1987

You are hereby notified to appear for a hearing on your petition for naturalization before a judge of the naturalization court at the DATE, TIME, AND PLACE, SHOWN BELOW

Date 4/29/1987

Time 12:30 PM

Place LOS ANGELES CONVENTION CENTER
1201 SOUTH FIGUEROA STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90015
ROOM NUMBER: HALL

NAME AND ADDRESS IN THIS AREA

COPY TO: YOUR CLIENT

You must bring the following with you:
— This letter, with all of the QUESTIONS ON THE REVERSE side answered in ink or on a typewriter.
— Alien Registration Card.
— Reentry Permit or Refugee Travel Document.
— Any immigration documents you may have.
— If the naturalization hearing is ON BEHALF OF YOUR CHILD (children), BRING your CHILD' children).

If you cannot come to this hearing, return this notice immediately and state why you cannot appear. In such case, please use the return address in the extreme upper left hand corner of this letter. You will be sent another notice of hearing at a later date.

IMPORTANT — PLEASE SEE REVERSE

Form N—445A

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111

EXHIBIT E

Are you a new citizen today?

CALIFORNIA TOMORROW CITIZENSHIP PROJECT SURVEY

REASONS FOR EARLY/DELAYED CITIZENSHIP APPLICATIONS

Date. _____

Location: L. A. Convention Center

I.D. #	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	YR. BECOME LEGAL RES.	DID YOU LIVE IN CA. SINCE		IF NO, WHICH STATE DID YOU COME FROM?	DID YOU APPLY FOR CITIZENSHIP AS SOON AS YOU WERE ELIGIBLE?			WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO BE A U.S. CITIZE
				Yes	No		Yes	No	Why	

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CALIFORNIA TOMORROW is a non-profit, non-partisan organization built on the belief that the state's diverse population offers a rare opportunity to create a fair, working multi-racial, multi-cultural society. California Tomorrow publishes a magazine, produces and distributes radio documentaries, organizes local coalitions, and conducts projects such as this one - all focused on critical state issues and managed by the dozen or so California Tomorrow Fellows selected each year as committed citizen leaders.

For more information about California Tomorrow, or to obtain copies of this report, contact:

CALIFORNIA TOMORROW
Fort Mason, Building B
San Francisco, California 94123
(415) 441-7631

CALIFORNIA TOMORROW
849 South Broadway, Suite 831
Los Angeles, California 90014
(213) 623-6231

PRESIDENT
Lewis H. Butler

CITIZENSHIP PROJECT STAFF

Judy Malunda, Research Associate
Vera deVera, Fellow
Rosalind Gold, Fellow
Raúl Pardo, Fellow

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